Literary Society of Bombay ५१६८१

FERISHTA's

HISTORY OF DEKKAN

FROM

THE FIRST MAHUMMEDAN CONQUESTS:

WITH

A CONTINUATION FROM OTHER NATIVE WRITERS, OF THE EVENTS
IN THAT PART OF INDIA, TO THE REDUCTION OF ITS LAST
MONARCHS BY THE EMPEROR AULUMGEER AURUNGZEBE:

ALSO,

THE REIGNS OF HIS SUCCESSORS IN THE
EMPIRE OF HINDOOSTAN TO THE PRESENT DAY:

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AND

THE HISTORY OF BENGAL,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALIVERDEE KHAN
TO THE YEAR 1780.

COMPRISED IN SIX PARTS.

BY JONATHAN SCOTT,

CAPTAIN IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE, PERSIAN SECRETARY
TO THE LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL, WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ. AND
MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.

TWO VOLUMES.

~~DXc-13~~

VOL. II.

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PART III.

AURUNGZEBE's

OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

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PREFACE.

MR. ORME, with whoſe elegant works relative to India the publick are well acquainted, has, in his Hiſtorical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, inſerted the following note:

> "We are not without hopes, that ſome of the many in India, who have the means, will ſupply the portions of information which are deficient, and muſt, otherwiſe, always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the enquiry; for, beſides the energy of the characters which ariſe within this period, there are no ſtates or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have any connection or concern, who do not owe the origin of their preſent condition to the reign of AURUNGZEBE, or to its influence on the reigns of his ſucceſſors."

The peruſal of Mr. ORME's works, when in India, firſt excited my curioſity to obtain that information, the want of which he regrets; and for this purpoſe I procured every manuſcript likely to afford any anecdotes of AURUNGZEBE and his ſucceſſors. Of the Tranſactions of his reign, eſpecially his Operations in Dekkan, by far the moſt important, (unleſs we except his wars with his brothers, and the depoſal of his father, which have been publiſhed by colonel Dow, in his third volume of the Hiſtory of Hindooſtan,) I have not met with a better account than the following. It is a free tranſlation of a Journal kept by a Bondela officer, who attended Dulput Roy, the chief of his tribe, in all AURUNGZEBE's campaigns, which was preſented to me by the Raja of [*] Dutteah, a great grandſon of Dulput Roy, when I acted as Perſian interpreter to a detachment under colonel POPHAM, in the Ghoed country.

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[*] A principality, according to the imperial diviſion of the empire, forming part of the Agra province. This raja is now tributary to the Mharattas, as well as all the other Bondela chiefs, whoſe country is denominated, in our maps, Bundelcund.

Bondelas Officers Journal

AURUNGZEBE's

OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

HAVING in the preceding volume, as far as authorities could be obtained, brought the hiſtory of Dekkan to the decline of her two laſt monarchies of Golconda and Beejapore, in which the gradual encroachments of the Mogul or Dhely emperors are mentioned as far down as the cloſe of the reign of Shaw Jehaun, we come next to the operations of Aurungzebe, his ſon. He cauſed their final diſſolution; but, by adding to the extent of his dominions in Dekkan, deſtroyed a balance of power, the want of which enabled the ſtates, who roſe on the ruins of his conqueſts, in leſs than a century to be the chief agents in rendering the empire of Hindooſtan, to the family of Timur, a mere nominal ſovereignty. It will be recollected, that Aurungzebe was governor of Dekkan, on the part of his father Shaw Jehaun; and that at the cloſe of the laſt volume he had juſt impoſed ſevere conditions on the ſultan of Golconda, when he was drawn from his operations, by the alarming ſtate of affairs at the court of his father.

At this period a new power, the celebrated Sewajee, founder of the Mharatta ſtates, was riſing into notice; an account of whom begins the following pages.

OF the origin of Sewajee, the founder of the preſent Mharatta ſtate in Dekkan, we have the following account. Bheem Sing, or Sein, rana of Odipore, the firſt in rank among the Hindoo princes, had a ſon named Baug Sing, by a [a] concubine of a tribe very inferior to his own. On the death of his father, Baug Sing finding himſelf deſpiſed and neglected by his relations, the Seſodia Raajepootes, who, from the low caſt of his mother, regarded him only as a baſtard, and not of their tribe, became weary of the indignities ſhewn him; and moved from Odipore to Khandeſhe, where he embraced the ſervice of a zemindar, named Raja Ali Mohun. His abilities procured him the confidence of his patron to ſuch a degree, that at his death he appointed him guardian to his ſon; and Baug Sing executed the truſt with honour. When the young raja became of age to take upon himſelf the conduct of his affairs, Baug Sing, for what reaſon does not appear, declined his ſervice, and retired into Dekkan, where he purchaſed a tract of land near the preſent Mharatta capital of Poonah, and ſettled upon it as zemindar, in which ſituation he died.

Baug Sing had four ſons, two of whom, Malojee and Bumbojee, being of an enterprizing ſpirit, entered into the ſervice of Jadoo Roy, a Mharatta chief, and of diſtinguiſhed rank at the court of Bahadur Nizam Shaw.

Malojee had two ſons, Sahjee, or Shawjee, and Shurfajee. [b] Bumbojee had ſix ſons, who entered, as ſoldiers of fortune, into the ſervice of a zemindar of Beejapore.

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[a] Said to be a carpenter's daughter. This is overlooked by the Bhoſelah family, who in their own annals are ſtiled only a younger branch of Odipore. Baug Sing was called in Dekkan, Bhoſelah, of which term are given two interpretations. One is complimentary, as ſignifying the terror of his enemies; the other opprobrious, of his mother's low condition.

[b] From him the preſent raja of Nagpore Berar is deſcended, and the head of the Bhoſelah family at preſent, if the elder branch is extinct, as reported.

Malojee gradually acquired rank and influence with his patron, from whom he obtained a promiſe of his only daughter in marriage for his eldeſt ſon Sahjee; but Jadoo Roy afterwards, from ſome diſguſt, refuſing to fulfil his engagement, Malojee appealed for redreſs to Nizam Shaw, who obliged the chief to conſent to the nuptials, which were celebrated with great pomp: and thus the Bhoſelah family became incorporated with the Mharattas, and commonly eſteemed as ſuch in Hindooſtan.

A connection thus introduced upon him by force, could not be pleaſing to Jadoo Roy, who from the moment of its conſummation accordingly became jealous of his ſon in law; and on the death of his father Malojee, Sahjee, by his abilities having acquired the favour of the queen mother, regent to her ſon a minor, was regarded only as a dangerous rival by his wife's father. An open rupture enſued, and Jadoo Roy, by the aſſiſtance of the imperial troops then meditating conqueſts in Dekkan, obliged Sahjee to quit the kingdom, though at the expenſe of its welfare, by introducing the enemy of his ſovereign.

Sahjee with his followers, thus driven from Ahmednuggur, now entered into the ſervice of Ibrahim Adil Shaw, king of Beejapore, who gave him a jaghire in the Carnatic, with a command of ten thouſand horſe. Soon after this, his ſon Sewajee, afterwards ſo celebrated in Dekkan, was born, from the daughter of Jadoo Roy Mharatta; by whom Sahjee had already one ſon, named Sambojee, who was in early youth killed in action againſt a refractory zemindar of Beejapore.

Sahjee having diſagreed with his wife, on account of his hatred to her father, reſolved on ſeparation; and, accordingly, ſent her, with the infant Sewajee, to whom he ſhewed no affection, to reſide at Poonah, of which, and the vicinity, he had obtained a grant, under the charge of one of his officers, named Dadajee Punt, to whom he alſo committed the management of the zemindaree.

Sahjee now married a ſecond wife, alſo a Mharatta, by whom he had a ſon named Angojee, or Ekojee, to whom he transferred all his fondneſs from his former connection. Continuing to riſe in honours and conſequence, under the patronage of Morar Jugdeo, dewan to the ſultan, he became one of the principal chiefs of Beejapore; and though on the death of the king his patron was put to death by the queen regent, Sahjee ſuffered no injury in his fortunes.

Junjuppa Naik, poligar of Mudkul, being at enmity with Punchee Ragoo, zemindar of Tanjore, invited Sahjee to his aſſiſtance; and in conjunction they defeated the raja, who was ſlain in the action, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the capital and all his dominions. The allies quarrelling on the diviſion of the plunder and the ſum to be paid to Sahjee for his ſervices, he attacked Junjuppa, ſlew him in battle, and thus obtained an eaſy conqueſt of the zemindarees of Tanjore and Mudkul, in which he obtained confirmation from the regency of Beejapore, and ſettled them on his ſon Ekojee, whoſe poſterity ſtill hold them under the navob of Arcot, or rather, the Britiſh government.

Sewajee, though neglected by his father, was properly educated by his guardian Dadajee; and at the age of ſeventeen excelled in every accompliſhment. Military fame was his firſt paſſion; and the government of Beejapore being now weakened by inteſtine diviſions and the encroachments of the Moguls, he had ſoon an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf among other rebels. Contrary to the remonſtrances of Dadajee, he raiſed a banditti, and plundered the neighbouring diſtricts; which conduct in his charge ſo affected the old man, that he poiſoned himſelf from vexation, and to avoid the imputation of aſſiſting in his deſigns. Sewajee now took poſſeſſion of the jaghire, raiſed more troops, ſucceſsfully levied contributions on ſeveral zemindars, and much extended the limits of his territories. Sahjee, either from inability, or contented with his rich zemindaree of Tanjore, connived at his exceſſes, and made over to him the revenues of Poonah.

At this criſis Aurungzebe, governor of the imperial territories in Dekkan, was meditating the overthrow of his brother Dara Shekkoh, who was the favourite of their father, the emperor Shaw Jehaun, now in a dangerous ſtate of health. For this purpoſe he was preparing an army to march to Agra; and, obſerving the enterprizing genius of Sewajee, ſent him an invitation to his ſervice. Sewajee pretending to be ſtruck with horror, (for his own conduct proves its hypocriſy) at the rebellion of a ſon againſt a father, received the prince's meſſenger with indignity, drove him from his preſence, and ordered the letter he had brought to be tied to the tail of a dog. Aurungzebe for the preſent ſtifled his reſentment, but never could forgive Sewajee's inſolence, and hence may be dated his tedious war in Dekkan, and finally the ruin of the Mogul empire by the Mharattas.

A. H. 1066.
A. D. 1655.

Aurungzebe, on his moving from Dekkan, committed the government of it to his ſecond ſon, ſultan Mahummud Mauzim, under the tutelage of an experienced general, with orders to act only on the defenſive till he ſhould have decided his pretenſions to the imperial throne.

Aurungzebe having left Dekkan, Sewajee reſolved to turn the inactivity of the imperial troops, and the weakneſs of the Golconda and Beejapore princes, to the utmoſt advantage. He took the ſtrong fortreſs of Rairee, or Raujeghur, which he fixed upon as the ſeat of his government; and ſucceſſively captured Porundeh, Jagneh, and other places, with conſiderable diſtricts dependant on Beejapore.

The regency of Beejapore, being alarmed at his encroachments, ſent him threats mingled with offers of pardon; but he regarded neither, and continued his rebellion. Having by treachery put to death the zemindar of Jaowlee, he poſſeſſed himſelf of an immenſe treaſure and that diſtrict. He next plundered the rich manufacturing city of Kallean; took Madury and Purdhaunghur; at which laſt he found a valuable buried treaſure. Rajapore near Bombay, Sungarpore, and an iſland belonging to the Portugueſe, next fell into his hands.

The Beejapore government having in vain deſired Sahjee, (who diſclaimed all connection with him, and pretended that he had diſcarded him as a relation,) to repreſs the exceſſes of his ſon, at length ſent againſt him a conſiderable army, under a general named Abdoolla Khan.

Sewajee with artful policy now wrote to the general, imploring pardon for his crimes, and inviting him to come and receive his ſubmiſſion. Abdoolla advanced without oppoſition near the reſidence of the rebel, and it was agreed that he ſhould repair to a tent, with ten followers, where Sewajee would meet him with only five attendants. They met accordingly, when the treacherous zemindar ſtabbed Abdoolla in embracing him. Upon a ſignal given, the Mharattas, ruſhing from an ambuſcade, attacked the unſuſpecting army of Beejapore, which, deprived of their chief, was quickly defeated. Sewajee plundered their rich camp, and by this victory became maſter of all Kokun, the zemindars of which flocked to acknowledge his authority, to ſave their poſſeſſions. The ſtrong fortreſs of Sittarra and other places alſo opened their gates to receive him.

A new army was ſent from Beejapore under Afzul Khan, ſon of the murdered general, but without ſucceſs; Sewajee, even without hazarding an engagement, obliging them to retreat by cutting off their ſupplies: and after this the Beejapore government, divided internally, and apprehending attacks from the armies of Aurungzebe, who had now obtained poſſeſſion of the throne, made no effort againſt him. In the courſe only of three years, Sewajee became a powerful prince, his authority being acknowledged over almoſt the whole coaſt of Malabar.

To relate here the ſtruggles for the throne between Aurungzebe and his unfortunate brothers, Dara Shekkoh, ſultan Shujah, and Moraud Bukſh, with the depoſal of their father, the emperor Shaw Jehaun, would interrupt too much the object of this work, the HISTORY OF DEKKAN. Of theſe events, by ſuch as wiſh to peruſe them, [*] an excellent account may be ſeen in the Travels of Bernier, publiſhed in Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. It agrees with the native hiſtories of Hindooſtan in every fact, and abounds with juſt obſervations of his own. Bernier reſided with Danuſhmund Khan, a nobleman of high rank and office, in the ſervice of Aurungzebe, during the events he relates. Suffice it to ſay here, that Aurungzebe aſcended the throne by the title of Aulumgeer, in the year 1068 of the Mahummedan æra. From this period, A.D. 1657. the memorable events of his whole reign are noticed, but the affairs of Dekkan more particularly detailed in the following work.

Of the proceedings of the imperialiſts in Dekkan, during theſe A.H. 1069. events, no notice is taken in the hiſtory of Aulumgeer. It is proba- A.D. 1658. ble, they acted merely on the defenſive. Sultan Mahummud Mauzim was this year recalled by his father, and the ameer al amra, Shaiſteh Khan, appointed ſoubahdar of Dekkan, with orders to ſtop the progreſs of Sewajee.

The ameer al amra, after ſome ſtay at Aurungabad, marched to A.H. 1070. reduce Jagneh, a ſtrong fortreſs in poſſeſſion of Sewajee; which he A.D. 1659. took, and proceeded to Poonah, where he fixed his reſidence; while

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[*] There is one alſo in the third volume of Dow's hiſtory of Hindooſtan, nearly the ſame as Bernier's.

his troops under Naumdaur Khan laid waſte the country of the rebel, who, though unequal to cope with the imperialiſts in the field, haraſſed them frequently by night attacks and cutting off their ſupplies; ſo that their conqueſt of ſeveral forts was but of little uſe to the progreſs of their arms.

A. H. 1072. A. D. 1661. Sewajee ſtill continued to reſiſt in Dekkan, and this year ſignalized himſelf by a remarkable exploit at Poonah, where the ameer al amra yet reſided. Having by his ſpies learned that the navob and his troops were lulled into careleſs ſecurity, he one night, with a ſelect band of tried followers, after a forced march of forty miles, entered the city, and paſſing without alarm to the palace, mined his paſſage into the women's apartments, with fifteen of his companions. The ameer al amra, awakened by the noiſe, ſtarted up, and received two wounds as he ran to call for help into an outer room; but his ſon Abou Futteh was ſlain, and ſome female ſervants with him, before he could procure aſſiſtance. At length, the guards arriving, Sewajee made his eſcape by the way he had entered, without loſing a man. The ameer al amra attributing this ſurprize to the connivance of Jeſſwunt Sing, his ſecond in command, was fearful of remaining longer at Poonah, and retired to Aurungabad; from whence he was recalled ſoon after to court, and the prince Mahummud Mauzim again ſent to the government of Dekkan, which he held for two years. During theſe, no memorable event occurs in hiſtory, and at the end of this period the prince was ordered to court.

Poona

A. H. 1075. A. D. 1664. Mirza Raja Jeyſing, who was ſent governor of Dekkan on the recall of the prince Mahummud Mauzim, immediately began operations againſt Sewajee, who had extended his uſurpations over great part of the Beejapore territories on the coaſt of Malabar, and carried his predatory incurſions as far as Surat, which he plundered of immenſe wealth, it being then the richeſt ſeaport of the empire.

Mirza Raja, with his ſecond in command, Dilleer Khan, after having ſuccefsfully repulſed the armies of Sewajee, and laid waſte his country, ſat down before Poonadher, a ſtrong fortreſs, which the Mharatta, regarding as impregnable, had choſen for the aſylum of the women and treaſures of himſelf and all his principal followers. The imperialiſts, by a reſolute aſſault, having made themſelves maſters of a redoubt, ſituated on an eminence which commanded the fort, Sewajee was reduced to the laſt extremity. In this exigence, he took the reſolution of throwing himſelf on the mercy of his enemy. To the ſurprize of the beſiegers, he, with a few attendants unarmed, appeared ſuddenly at one of the outpoſts, and demanded to be conducted to the general. The Mirza Raja ſent his own ſon, Keerut Sing, to accompany him to his preſence, with all the cuſtomary honours due to his rank. The whole camp preſſed in crowds to ſee this celebrated hero, and the Mirza Raja having come as far as the door of his tent to meet him, after embracing, enquired the occaſion of his thus putting himſelf into his power.

Sewajee replied, that war was attended with the ruin of thouſands, and crimes thus accumulated on both parties; that he was at length ſenſible how heinous it was in him, the meaneſt of ſlaves, to rebel againſt the orders of the king of kings, and that he now ſaw his own intereſt, and that of his family and country, to be in ſubmiſſion and obedience to the emperor. That, regarding the Mirza Raja as his father, he had thus of his own accord fled to his preſence, that he might, through his paternal mediation and interceſſion, obtain forgiveneſs and pardon for the crimes he had been guilty of, and procure from his majeſty ſome honourable command, as that againſt Candahar, or any other equally important; that in caſe the Maharaja would lay the hand of paternal protection on his head, he would immediately make an offering of twenty four of his forts, with the countries dependant.

The Maharaja, looking on this occurrence as a gift of the divine bleſſing, inſtantly exchanged with him the adoption of father and ſon, ordered the march of victory to be beat, and informing Dilleer Khan of Sewajee's ſubmiſſion, deſired him to ceaſe hoſtilities. The Khan was at firſt offended that any capitulation had been made without his conſultation, and ſent for anſwer, that as muſſulmauns had been killed during the ſiege, and a breach was effected, alſo a diſpoſition made for the aſſault, he would not conſent to a peace until the fort ſhould be taken. The Mirza Raja the next morning, in order to mollify the Khan's diſpleaſure, ſent Sewajee with his ſon Keerut Sing to viſit him; which compliment had the deſired effect, and he withdrew his troops from the batteries. Sewajee the ſame day ſurrendered Poonadher to the imperial generals, and gave up the keys of twenty four other forts to the Mirza Raja, who appointed kelladaars to each, and ſent off a petition in favour of Sewajee to the ſublime court.

A. H. 1075. A. D. 1665. Orders had before this been iſſued to the Mirza Raja, that he ſhould immediately upon the reduction of Poonadher poſſeſs himſelf of Beejapore. Sewajee alſo, after the imperial troops had taken poſſeſſion of the places he had given up, and the diſpatch of his petition to the preſence, repreſented to the raja, that it was uſeleſs to remain inactive with ſuch a fine army until the arrival of an anſwer, that, if he approved, he would join him to beſiege Beejapore, the fall of which would be a proof of his good ſervices in the eyes of his majeſty. The raja accordingly having, beſides the cuſtomary imperial donations, diſtributed from his own treaſury a corore of rupees among the amras and troops, began his march with an army of fifty ſix thouſand horſe and foot. Syed Elias, from Beejapore, advanced to meet him, with an army of eighty thouſand men, and a deſperate engagement occurred; in which the Beejapore general being killed by a muſquet ballet, by Soopkerrun Bondela, his army was defeated, and the imperial troops purſued the fugitives to within five coſs of the city: but ſoon after this a great ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed in the camp, as the enemy had laid waſte the country round, and it was impoſſible to carry ſupplies for a conſtancy for ſo large a force, ſo that it became daily more difficult to remain or advance.

At this time alſo, anſwers arrived from court, and his majeſty's orders were iſſued, that Sewajee ſhould receive a lack of rupees from the treaſury of Dekkan, and proceed to the imperial preſence. Fatteh Jung Khan, who was eſcorting treaſure from Aurungabad to the Mirza Raja's camp, was attacked by a large body of the enemy between Porundeh and Sholapore. He made a gallant defence, but was ſlain in the action, and the treaſure and baggage fell into the enemy's hands. The Mirza Raja having given aſſurances of protection to the nobility of Beejapore, many chiefs came over to him, whom he gratified with preſents and honours in the emperor's name. Having given Sewajee permiſſion to retire to regulate his country, previous to his going to the preſence, and ſent with him Kallean Sing, a commander of five hundred, the Mirza Raja retreated from Nagpana, and cantoned for the rainy ſeaſon at the reſervoir of Kikeroolla, twelve coſs from Porundeh.

Sewajee having viſited his country, began his journey to the imperial court. When he arrived at Aurungabad, he was attended by five hundred noble horſe, elegantly capariſoned, and about the ſame number of ſelect and well accoutred infantry. The whole city came out of curioſity to meet him. Suff Shekun Khan, an ameer of three thouſand and deputy governor, regarding Sewajee only in the light of a Mharatta zemindar, ſat himſelf, with the publick officers in full aſſembly, thinking that he would pay him the firſt viſit, and only ſent his nephew to meet him without the city, and conduct him to his palace. But this affronted Sewajee, who turned off directly to the Mirza Raja's palace; and upon being told that the governor expected him in full aſſembly, aſked angrily, Who is Suff Shekun Khan? what office does he hold here? and why has he not come out to meet me? Then, having diſmiſſed the nephew and his train, he alighted at the palace. In the evening, Suff Shekun Khan and the publick officers came in ſtate to viſit him, and he received them at the foot of the carpets, and entered familiarly into converſation. The next day Sewajee returned the viſit. The deputy governor and other officers each entertained him, according to their ability. He ſtayed at Aurungabad till he had received the bounty ordered from the treaſury, and then proceeded on his journey to court, where he arrived in ſafety.

Sewajee, when introduced to the imperial preſence, did not meet with the honours he expected. Being placed among the amras of five thouſand, he aſked, to what rank the ſtation was aſſigned? and being told, it was that allotted to the raja Ram Sing Seſodiah, wept, and fainted away. Orders were given to carry him into the court of the bathing apartments, where they fanned and ſprinkled him with roſe-water. Apparently, he was overcome by the ſplendour and magnificence of the imperial court; but none were acquainted with his real diſorder. When he came to himſelf he begged to be carried to the place appointed for his reſidence; where being arrived, he began to talk in a frantic manner, and pretended madneſs, often crying out, "Now ſuch a criminal as I am have put "myſelf into the talons of the eagle, why does he not quickly put "me to death?"

Theſe mad effuſions were related to his majeſty, who ordered that Ram Sing, ſon to the Mirza Raja, ſhould take care of him. Shortly after this, agreeably to Sewajee's own requeſt, it was repreſented to the emperor, that as he now had come to the preſence, he deſired that his attendants, who were uſed to Dekkan, and did not chuſe to live out of it, might have leave to return to their homes.

His majeſty regarded this requeſt as highly favourable to keeping him at court without trouble, and permitted all his followers, except his ſon Sambah and a few of the principal perſons, to return to Dekkan.

Before this, Sewajee had made it a cuſtom, every Thurſday to diſtribute among the poor, who crouded in great numbers to his gate on this occaſion, great quantities of paſtry and ſweetmeats, which were brought in large baſkets, each of which required three or four men to bear it; and theſe, when emptied, were carried out again to the confectioner's. Ram Sing had requeſted that his people might be recalled; and the guards of Folaud Khan, the city cutwal, were then ordered to keep the watch over him. Sewajee by his generoſity ſo gained upon his keepers, that they were contented with ſeeing him every morning and evening; after the laſt of which viſits, he conſtantly retired to ſleep, on pretence of illneſs. When every thing was ripe for his intended plan, Sewajee, one Thurſday evening, having acquainted his confidants of his deſign, ordered a ſlave to take his place on the bed, and leaving the cuſtomary attendants in the room, emptied the ſweetmeats, and putting his ſon into one of the baſkets, laid himſelf in another, in which they were carried out of the houſe. When he had got clear of the city, he mounted his ſon upon a ſorry horſe, and led the bridle himſelf on foot on the Mutterah road. True it is, that "the wiſe man does that without "noiſe, which a vaſt army cannot effect." In the morning, the guards not ſeeing him preſent himſelf as was cuſtomary, were alarmed, and gave intelligence to Folaud Khan, who entering the bedchamber, awaked the ſlave who occupied the place of Sewajee. He ſaid, that he had been ordered to lie on his bed, which he had done ſince evening, but could give no farther account. The cutwal carried the ſlave and ſeveral other perſons bound to his majeſty; who ordered a ſtrict ſearch to be made, and proclamations to be iſſued in every diſtrict of the empire, deſcribing Sewajee, and ordering him to be ſeized, but all in vain. Terbeut Roy, the ſuperintendant of the ſpies, was diſgraced for not having given information of the ſtratagem; and Ram Sing, who had requeſted the recall of his people from the guard over Sewajee, was ſuſpected of a connivance, and baniſhed the court. The Mirza Raja was ordered to leave Dekkan, as ſoon as relieved by the prince Mahummud Mauzim and the Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing.

Sewajee having arrived at Mutterah, ſhaved his beard, muſtachios, and long ſide locks, to diſguiſe himſelf. Committing his ſon to the charge of a bramin, who lay under many obligations to him, with a promiſe of great rewards if he ſhould conduct him in ſafety to Dekkan. He for the preſent gave him ſome jewels and gold mhors for his expenſes. He then travelled as a pilgrim from Mutterah, by the route of Aleabad and Benaras to Geiar; from whence, after meeting two officers whom he had ſent on before, he travelled, accompanied by them, to Cuttac. Here, being much fatigued, he ventured to buy a ſorry horſe; but, not having ſilver ready to pay for it, unguardedly opened a purſe of gold. The news of his eſcape having reached this city, the owner of the horſe, who was ſuſpicious at ſeeing a perſon in the dreſs of a beggar with ſo much money, ſaid, "Surely you muſt be Sewajee in diſguiſe, as you offer "ſuch a ſum for a ſorry horſe." Sewajee made no reply, but gave him the purſe, and departed with all poſſible ſpeed to Jaggernaut; from whence, after performing the cuſtomary worſhip, he travelled through Hyderabad to his own country. The bramin of Mutterah, putting a girl's dreſs on Sewajee's ſon, then a boy with long fine hair, and taking his wife in company, called him his daughter, and brought him in ſafety into Dekkan to his father; who rewarded him ſo generouſly, that he was ever after independant of the world.

The Mirza Raja having ſent Dilleer Khan to collect the tributes of the zemindars of Chandna and Deogur, retired to paſs the rains at Aurungabad, until the arrival of the prince to relieve him in the government; and about this time the emperor diſapproved of ſeveral promotions he had made of the Dekkan amras, who had come over to the imperial ſervice by his invitation from Beejapore, the eſcape of Sewajee having rendered his loyalty ſuſpected by Aurungzebe.

A. H. 1077. A. D. 1666. The prince Mahummud Mauzim and Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing advancing near, the publick officers of Dekkan went to meet the prince as far as the paſs of Ferdapore, and the Mirza Raja to Bullumreh, where he was honoured with an audience. On their arrival at Aurungabad, ſome days paſſed in entertainments; when the Mirza Raja, having taken leave, departed for court, but died on the road, ſoon after his arrival at Boorahanpore, and left a world in ſorrow for his loſs. There never was a prince among the Raajepootes equal to him in accompliſhments. In pleaſing manners, he was unparalleled; in valour, ſecond to no one; and his generoſity reminded men [illegible] of [*] Hatim Tai. He was completely learned in Hindooeh, and underſtood the Turkiſh, Perſic, and Arabic languages. "He will never wholly die, who leaves behind him a good name." When the raja was declared paſt recovery, Deeraaje, his moonſhee and manager of affairs, apprehending his deſtruction from the Raajepootes, to ſave himſelf from their jealouſy took refuge with Daood Khan Koreiſhee, ſoubahdar of Boorahanpore, and became a muſſulmaun. On this account the Raajepootes were ſtrongly ſuſpicious that he had poiſoned the raja, and his ſon Keerût Sing wiſhed much to force him from Daood Khan to put him to a diſgraceful death; but not finding an opportunity, after the funeral rites of his father, continued his journey to court.

The emperor recalling Ram Sing, eldeſt ſon of the Mirza Raja, who had been forbidden the court ſince Sewajee's eſcape, diſtin-

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[*] A celebrated Arabian chief.

guiſhed him by the title of raja, and put him in poſſeſſion of his father's territories.

Sewajee, immediately upon his arrival in Kokun, aſſumed royal titles and ſtruck coins, detached different bodies to invade the royal territories, plundered the ſeaport of Surat, the pergunnah of Karinja, and took moſt of the forts which he had delivered up at his late ſubmiſſion. Some of the governors died in defence of their commands, and every day news was brought to the prince of the loſs of one place or other. Sewajee attacking the fort of Maolee, which was much in want of ſupplies, and every hope of aſſiſtance to it cut off, was informed by the governor, Munnower Daſs, that he and his garriſon were Raajepootes, who would ſacrifice their lives man by man, rather than give up the place. Sewajee was reſolved to perſiſt; and one night five hundred of his beſt troops, well acquainted with the private paths, marched ſuddenly to the fort, and fixed ladders to the walls, by which they aſcended; but the garriſon, who were upon the watch day and night, were ready to receive them, and put a great number to the ſword; upon which the reſt relinquiſhed the attack. Sewajee, upon this failure, raiſed the ſiege, and attacked Ouzbuk Khan, the tannadar of Kallean Beemrah, who, with many of his followers, after a gallant reſiſtance, attained the honour of martyrdom, and the ſurvivors fled in a wretched condition to Aurungabad; but Munnower Daſs kept poſſeſſion of the fort, and ſent expreſs accounts of the ſituation of affairs to the prince.

Daood Beg Khan Koreiſhee was ſent to his aſſiſtance, with ſupplies for the garriſons; and after relieving Munnower Daſs, and throwing in ſome ſmall quanties of proviſions to different forts, retreated. Sewajee again attacked Maolee, and carried it by an aſſault, in which the new governor, Aliverdi Khan, was ſlain. Soon after this, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the newly ceded garriſons, as alſo of the fort of Aoont, which had long been in the imperial poſſeſſion. Dilleer Khan, having collected a conſiderable tribute from Chandna and Deogur, was ordered to carry the treaſure to Aurungabad, where he had the honour of an audience from the prince. As Raow Kerrun, the zemindar of Bikkaneer, an ameer of two thouſand, and ſome time kelladaar of Dowlutabad, had lately been very neglectful in the imperial affairs, and his ill conduct had reached the ears of his majeſty, his ſon, who had quarrelled with his father, thought this a proper time for revenge, and obtained the grant of the zemindaree of Bikkaneer for himſelf. Raow Kerrun upon this, grew daily more and more neglectful; and being at this period detached with Dilleer Khan, not only refuſed to obey his orders, but as his revenue was ſtopped, he, for want of money, made a practice of robbing in the camp with his Raajepootes at night, and had the audacity to plunder ſome villages on the march. Dilleer Khan having proofs of this, and dreading that, if his inſolence was unnoticed, he might proceed to exceſſes which would alſo endanger his fame, wrote complaining letters of him to court; which were anſwered by orders to put him to death, or confine him, if he harboured farther evil intentions. The vaqueel of Raow Bhaow Sing Arrah, having obtained intelligence of this order at court, wrote it immediately to his maſter at the camp of Dilleer Khan.

The morning after the receipt of the order, Dilleer Khan, under pretence of going to hunt, paſſed near the tents of Raow Kerrun, to whom he ſent word that much game was ſurrounded in the toils, and invited him to come and ſhare in the amuſement. The Raow, equally careleſs of every thing, and unmindful of the deceit intended, quickly mounted his elephant, and came out attended by a few Raajepootes to the Khan; when luckily for him, Raow Bhaow Sing, who had heard of his going, rode up quickly with his followers, and, by drawing his friend from among the Khan's troops, ſaved his life. Dilleer Khan was defeated in his deſign, and rode on towards Aurungabad, where the two raows alſo arrived ſome hours after him.

The manners of Dilleer Khan not being agreeable to the prince or Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing, they detached him for the puniſhment of the enemy towards Zuffirabad Bieder, and the raows, agreeably to the prince's orders, remained at Aurungabad.

A. H. 1078. A. D. 1667. Sewajee now entertaining deſigns of ſubduing the countries dependant on Beejapore, and wanting to ſupply his garriſons with proviſions, which he could not eaſily do while invaded, wrote to the Maharaja, that had not the emperor ſlighted his ſervices, he had intended to offer them againſt Candahar; that he had made his eſcape only through fear of his life, but now, (his patron, the Mirza Raja, being dead) if, by his interceſſion, Jeſſwunt Sing could procure a pardon for his late offences, he would ſend his ſon Suntah to the prince, that he might be promoted to a munſub, and ſerve wherever there was occaſion. He wrote alſo in this humble manner to the prince; who, as well as the Maharajah, applied to court in his favour, and their requeſts met with the royal compliance.

Sewajee upon this, diſpatched his ſon Suntah to Aurungabad, under the care of Pertaub Sing, a principal chief, eſcorted by a thouſand horſe; and, after an audience of the prince, he was honoured by the munſub of five thouſand, a preſent of an elephant, and arms ſet with jewels, as alſo a jaghire in the province of Berar, to which he detached one half of his force, and kept the other attendant on his perſon. After ſome time, Sewajee requeſted that his ſon might be ſent home, as he was then a child, promiſing that he ſhould be diſpatched to court, when of age to act in the royal ſervice. This was complied with, and a party of the Maharaja's troops eſcorted him to his father, while Pertaub Sing remained at the prince's court. Suffeh Khan Bukhſhi of Dekkan laid before his majeſty a liſt of the munſubdaurs created by the ameer al amra, the Maharajah, and the Mirza Raja Jey Sing. Many were diſplaced, but ſome deigned to accept of inferior ranks, and others were reſtored at the requeſt of the prince. The reſt went over to the ſervice of Sewajee, who gladly received them.

When intelligence of this deſertion reached Aurungzebe, and it appeared that Suffeh Khan had much oppreſſed the munſubdaurs of Dekkan, among whom were ſome old ſervants of the throne, he was much diſpleaſed, and this nobleman was ordered to the preſence. He had alſo confiſcated the receipts of ſome parts of Suntah's jaghire, as a payment of the lack of rupees Sewajee had received from the treaſury on his going to court. This circumſtance being made known to Sewajee, who had now conquered much of the Beejapore country, and amply ſupplied all his forts with proviſions, he recalled Pertaub Sing from Aurungabad, who left it immediately, and the other part of his force in the jaghires plundered the diſtricts, and went off in ſpite of a force which was ſent in purſuit, but could not overtake them.

Sewajee, during this truce, puniſhed a whole tribe with death, who had rebelled againſt his father Sahjee in Mudkul, and delivered him up to the reſentment of the Beejapore government, by which he was condemned to be buried alive for withholding the revenues of Tanjore, but ſaved at the interceſſion of Rundowlah Khan, the miniſter of Ali Adil Shaw. Sahjee, penetrated with gratitude for this ſervice, being ſet at liberty and reinſtated in his employments, viſited his ſon. Sewajee, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, ran ten miles on foot by the ſide of his palanquin; and on his alighting at his palace ſeated him on the muſnud; while he himſelf took his ſlippers, and ſtood among the menial attendants.

Sahjee ſpent two months with his ſon and firſt wife, in mutual interchanges of affection. Sewajee on this occaſion obtained the deſerved applauſe of all mankind, for his conduct to a parent, who had hitherto, from his birth, ſhewn him no marks of affection, but rather treated him as an alien of the family. Sahjee, after this viſit, joined his patron Rundowlah Khan, in reducing the refractory zemindar of Sonedeh Bidenore; at which place he died, by a fall from his horſe in hunting. A ſplendid mauſoleum was erected to his memory.

Sewajee obliged the ſultan of Beejapore to pay him a tribute of three, and the king of Golconda the ſum of four, lacks of pagodas. He had now formed a conſiderable fleet, with which he infeſted the coaſts, and blocked up Dunda Rajapore, held by the Siddees, who acted as admirals of the few ſhips of Aurungzebe, to protect the trade of Surat and the coaſts, for which they enjoyed large penſions.

About this time a favourite eunuch belonging to Ali Adil Shaw of Beejapore, being diſguſted at his ſovereign, came over to the prince at Aurungabad. Adil Shaw wrote repeated requeſts that he ſhould be ſent back, agreeing, in caſe of compliance, to give up the fort of Sholapore, and make a valuable offering. The prince ſending intelligence of this to court, his majeſty ordered that Geaus ad Dien Khan ſhould go to Beejapore, to determine and collect the offering, and Eeruch Khan be appointed to the government of Sholapore, after which the eunuch ſhould be ſent back. This was accordingly done. This year the prince's mother came to Dekkan on a viſit to her ſon, by the emperor's orders, to adviſe him to continue firm in his allegiance; ſome ſuſpicions having ariſen that he meditated independance.

A. H. 1079.
A. D. 1668.
Pathri

Dilleer Khan, who had marched againſt the Mharattas, purſued them as far as Batterree, when an order of recall arrived, commanding him to repair to Aurungabad; but on account of his diſagreement with the Maharaja, he was apprehenſive for his ſafety, and delayed. This being repreſented in a heinous light, he was accuſed of rebellion to the emperor, who diſpatched Iſtikhar Khan, by poſt ſtages, to enquire into the cauſe of his not viſiting the prince; and if, on examination, it ſhould appear to be rebellion, to bring him by force, and act as circumſtances might require, even to the putting him to death, if judged neceſſary. Multuffut Khan, brother to Iſtikhar Khan, incited by friendſhip to Dilleer Khan, wrote him advice to be wary how he ſhould viſit the prince; which encreaſed the apprehenſions he had before entertained of treachery.

Iſtikhar Khan being arrived at Aurungabad, wrote to Dilleer Khan, that his refuſal to viſit the prince having been repreſented to the emperor, he was diſpatched expreſs to enquire the cauſe; therefore, it would be proper that he ſhould march nearer to the city, in order to give him an opportunity of examination. Dilleer Khan having encamped within three coſs of Aurungabad, was viſited by Iſtikhar Khan, who gave him much encouragement and aſſurances of ſafety. Dilleer Khan in reply told him he apprehended treachery; upon which the other took an oath that there was none intended; when the Khan ſhowed him his brother's letter, which being original, left him without doubt of the Maharaja's deceit. It was now judged adviſeable that Dilleer Khan, under pretence of illneſs, ſhould continue his operations without viſiting the prince. He accordingly moved with his troops in ſearch of the enemy, and Iſtikhar ſent the account of his brother's information to court. The prince and Maharaja now wrote, that Dilleer Khan had drawn his head from the collar of obedience; and extending the hand of rapine wherever he went, his Afghauns plundered the country. This news was put into all the papers of Dekkan; and Dilleer Khan, not thinking it ſafe to remain, marched with intentions to proceed to court; upon which the prince wrote again to the preſence, that he was going with evil deſigns, and a firmaun came not to permit him; when the prince began to levy troops to oppoſe his paſſage.

A. H. 1080.
A. D. 1669.

The prince having collected about ſixty thouſand horſe, in the height of the rains marched from Aurungabad to puniſh Dilleer Khan; who, all his people included, had not more than five thouſand. The prince alſo induced Sewajee to join him by promiſes of favour, and encamped about fifteen coſs from Boorahanpore, and three from the ferry of Hanuck, over the river Taptee, intending to croſs and proceed to the city of which Daood Khan was ſoubahdar.

Orders were ſent to procure boats for the paſſage of the army, when Daood Khan repreſented, that Dilleer Khan was then ſixty coſs diſtant, and had not croſſed the river; that to procure boats at ſo ſhort a warning was impoſſible, but that in the time which muſt be expended, if the prince waited for them, he might effectually finiſh the expedition. The prince replied, that he did not chuſe to march ſuch a diſtance through bad roads; beſides, if Dilleer Khan ſhould croſs the river before him, the trouble would be thrown away; he therefore thought it beſt to proceed with the army to Boorahanpore, and, by waiting there, to effectually block up the road. Daood Khan ſuſpecting, from this determination, that a rebellion was on foot, and having informed Raow Bhaow Sing of his conjectures, agreed with him, that if the prince ſhould attempt to croſs the river, they would oppoſe him. The prince and Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing perceiving Daood Khan's alarms, attempted to lure him to an interview, with deſign to make him a priſoner; but he, being experienced, did not throw himſelf into their ſnares. Dilleer Khan repreſented to the preſence, that the prince and Maharaja, entertaining rebellious deſigns, had falſely accuſed him of diſaffection, merely to have a pretence for levying troops; upon which the emperor ordered Kokultaſh Bahadur Khan, ſoubahdar of Guzarat, to proceed with Koottub ad Dien Khan and the troops under him to Oogein, beyond which he ſhould not allow the prince to paſs. A ſecond order ſoon after arrived for him to take Dilleer Khan with him when he returned to Guzarat. Meer Houſſeinee was ſent from the preſence with two firmauns; the firſt of which was directed to Dilleer Khan, ordering him to Bahadur Khan's camp; and the ſecond to the prince and Maharaja, commanding them to return to Aurungabad. The imperial commands were immediately obeyed, as the Maharaja, who had tempted the prince to diſloyalty was afraid, and the prince did not chuſe to act with open diſreſpect to his father. Soon after this, Sewajee again plundered the town of Surat, and the prince ſent orders to Daood Khan to intercept his retreat.

A. H. 1081.
A. D. 1670.

Daood Khan, having paid his compliments to the prince, departed in purſuit of Sewajee, and ſoon had intelligence, that after plundering Surat, he had laid waſte the country in the vicinity of the fort of Aurung, named alſo Multeher, which he was watching for an opportunity to ſurprize. Meſſengers ſoon after this brought intelligence that Sewajee, hearing of the approach of the royal army, had paſſed by this fort, and was haſtening to gain the paſs of Kunchenah Munchenah; upon which Daood Khan marched immediately for Chandour, which lay in that road, and Bakee Khan, who had been obliged to retire into the fort from this town, on account of the preſſure of the enemy, came to viſit him. About midnight the ſpies brought word, that Sewajee had gone through the paſs of Kunchenah Munchenah, from whence he had taken the road to Goolſhunabad; leaving a force in the paſs to protect thoſe who had fallen in the rear from fatigue and other cauſes. It was full moon, and Daood immediately marched in purſuit, with ſuch haſte, that the little baggage he had fell behind; and towards morning, it growing dark, part of the troops miſtook the road, and ſeparated from the reſt. Akhlaaſs Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, having gained an eminence, at daylight deſcried a body of the Mharattas; upon which he ordered his people to prepare; but, before they were ready, he, from the raſhneſs of youth, with a ſmall number, charged the enemy, who were not leſs than eleven thouſand horſe, but paid dear for his impatience, and was ſeverely wounded. When Daood Khan came to the height, and beheld the imprudence of Akhlaaſs Khan, he detached a reinforcement, and haſtened to a ruined village, where leaving the elephant flags and drum bearers, who were tired, under Ibrahim Khan Punnee, with inſtructions to keep with him the rear and baggage as they came up, he proceeded. The advanced troops ſoon engaged with the enemy, and at firſt many of the imperial officers were wounded; but at length, Roy Muckrind and Bhaun Peroheet drove them off with the cannon, and Daood Khan arriving, after taking up Akhlaaſs Khan from the ground, purſued them, when a warm action enſued, in which many of the royal troops fell. The Mharattas, according to their cuſtom, attacked on all quarters, but great numbers of them being killed by the cannon ſhot, the reſt fled in confuſion. Daood Khan had not with him at this time more than a thouſand horſe; and though the enemy made a ſecond attack towards nightfall, he conducted himſelf ſo gallantly as again to defeat them; after which he ordered up the baggage, and took proper care of the wounded officers and men. The next day, he marched to Goolſhunabad, and ſent the wounded on to Aurungabad. Certain news arriving of the Mharattas having retreated to Kokun, he halted about a month; after which he moved the camp to Ahmednuggur, where he received letters from his ſon Hummeed ad Dien Khan, his deputy in the government of Boorahanpore, that the Mharattas with a very large force meditated an attack upon the city, which he was preparing to defend, but ample and ſpeedy aſſiſtance was neceſſary. Daood Khan moved inſtantly; and on hearing that the enemy had plundered Bahadurpore, within two miles of the city, redoubled his ſpeed; but on his arrival at Ferdapore intelligence was brought him, that they had retreated towards Buggellana, upon which he altered his route to purſue. The enemy plundered the town of Multeher, under the fort of Aurunghur, and then beſieged Sultanghur, commonly named Salheer.

Daood Khan arrived at Multeher about eight o'clock at night, after a forced march, but the baggage did not come up, nor alſo a great number of the ſepoys, until the next day. Here he left the baggage, and the next morning, before ſunriſe, moved to the relief of Salheer; but before he had advanced far, hearing that it had been taken, he returned, and halted ſome days; after which, ſecuring his baggage at the paſs of Kunchenah Munchenah, he prepared to follow the enemy with ſpeed, who were plundering on all quarters. Meer Syed at the fort of Tippehghur in Berar, hearing of a body of the enemy collected in the neighbourhood, marched upon them in the night, and put ſeven hundred to the ſword. At this time, the emperor being much diſpleaſed at the ill conduct of the Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing, in exciting enmity between the prince and Dilleer Khan, recalled him from Dekkan, and ordered him to Guzarat, ſending in his room Lohraſp Mahabut Khan, ſon of the celebrated Mahabut Khan Jehaungeeree. This ameer, after the death of his late majeſty, left off beating the nobut as uſual, only at twelve o'clock at night and at daybreak he ſounded it a ſhort time, merely out of cool reſpect to the reigning monarch; but during the time of marching, when it was not cuſtomary, from ſetting out until his arrival at the ground, his elephant drums never ceaſed, and at every two miles one loud beat of the nobut was ſounded. When he alighted, a general diſcharge of the artillery was given. This diſpleaſing Aurungzebe, he was recalled from the government of Cabul to the preſence, and ſhortly after ordered to command the army in Dekkan. He had three thouſand houſehold troops, his own dependants. Daood Khan being appointed his ſecond, was diſguſted, and requeſted to be recalled. Mahabut, after paying his reſpects to the prince at Aurungabad, joined the army at Chandour, where he was viſited by Daood Khan, who, though an ameer of five thouſand, was not treated by him with much attention; which encreaſed that nobleman's diſguſt, and raiſed it into enmity; but as the imperial affairs were in queſtion, and dependant on their agreement, he did not chuſe to ſhew it openly.

It was determined that, prior to engaging in other ſervice, the fort of Aoont, which Sewajee had reduced, ſhould be retaken. Accordingly, Mahabut Khan carried on his approaches on one ſide, and Daood Khan on others, ſo as to form a blockade. The batteries played for a whole month, when a breach being made on the ſide of Mahabut Khan, the beſieged, terrified at the dangers of a ſtorm, applied to Daood Khan, who let them paſs from the fort through his entrenchments, and ſending his own men, took poſſeſſion of the place. Mahabut Khan, as this was done without his knowledge, was much offended, and their mutual hatred grew to the greateſt pitch. The fort being properly garriſoned, the army marched to Ahmednuggur, and then cantoned for the rainy ſeaſon in the pergunnah of Balneer; but Daood Khan, agreeably to his petition, was recalled to the preſence.

H. 1082. D. 1671. Mahabut Khan, during the months of the rains, ſpent his time in a continual round of feſtivity, giving no attention to publick affairs or the puniſhment of the enemy; and the army was corrupted by his luxury and indolent example. He had brought in his train to Dekkan, four hundred dancing girls, drolls, and mimics of Cabul and Lahore, who were daily rewarded by preſents and favours. It at laſt reached the emperor's ear, that Mahabut Khan was in ſecret combination with Sewajee, whom he did not puſh to ſuch extremities, nor puniſh, as he had it in his power to do.

Upon this, he was recalled to court, and Kokultaſh Khan appointed in his ſtead, who, with Dilleer Khan Afghaun, Kootub ad Dien Khan, and others, coming from Guzarat, agreeably to the imperial orders, immediately beſieged the fort of Sultanghur, detaching for this purpoſe Akhlaaſs Khan Meana, Raow Amir Sing Chunderaowt, with their own and other troops. Kokultaſh Khan marched to within ſix coſs of Ahmednuggur to meet Mahabut Khan, who after the interview departed for court. Intelligence now arrived, that the enemy had attacked Akhlaaſs Khan, who, with Mohukkum Sing, ſon of Raow Amir Sing Chunderaowt, being badly wounded, were taken priſoners. The raow himſelf, with many others, falling in the action, the royal forces were defeated, and all the baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Bahadur Khan, upon this, marched day and night to overtake them, but upon his arrival at Nolcher in Buggellana, learned that they had ſafely retreated to Kokun with all their plunder.

A body of Afghauns in the ſervice of Dilleer Khan having committed great irregularities, and killed a traveller, Bahadur Khan endeavoured to bring the murderers to puniſhment, but they could not be apprehended, as they always ſkreened each other; upon which Bahadur Khan, by way of example, to deter them for the future, drew out his artillery; but they, diſregarding this, began to throw rockets, when he ordered the cannon to fire, and abont ſix hundred of the Afghauns were in an inſtant laid dead on the plain. The prince Mahummud Mauzim was recalled from the government of Dekkan, and Bahadur Khan appointed to ſucceed him. Namdaur Khan, the ſon of Jaffier Khan, was entruſted with the care of the country of Buggellana. Jadoo Terrai Dekkannee and Seedee Hullall Khan were diſpatched to protect Goolſhunabad and prevent the Mharattas from entering the country on that quarter.

The prince Mahummud Mauzim having ſhewn great favour to, and having an affectionate regard for, Mohin Sing, ſon of Raow Kerrun, on this account he was much envied by the prince's ſervants, who were daily ſeeking for an opportunity to diſgrace him. It happened that a tame deer, belonging to Mahummud Shaw, the meer tozuk, eſcaping from his keeper, ſtrayed into Mohin Sing's court, and was brought to him by his ſervants. He, not knowing whoſe it was, and ſeeing it a fine animal, ordered it to be kept. The next morning, when Mohin Sing was ſitting in the hall of audience with other attendants, before the prince's entrance, Mahummud Shaw came up to him, and began to cavil. Though Mohin Sing repeatedly aſſured him that he would return the deer as ſoon as he went home, this did not ſatisfy him; and advancing to the ſeat, he exclaimed, "Send for it here inſtantly, or I will "not let you riſe." Mohin Sing, upon this, being much enraged, clapping his hand to his ſabre, got up quickly, and a rencontre enſued, in which they each received ſeveral wounds. At length, ſome of the prince's ſervants ruſhed together on Mohin Sing, who, being weak from loſs of blood, leaned againſt a pillar of the hall, when an armourbearer gave him another wound on the head, and he fainted away on the ground; but his ſervants now gathered round him, and prevented his receiving further hurt. Puddum Sing, his elder brother, who was ſitting in another part of the hall, hearing of his being wounded, now ran up, and with one ſtroke of his ſabre finiſhed Mahummud Shaw; upon which the prince's ſervants ran confuſedly out of the balcony, and others threw themſelves headlong into the area. Puddum Sing ſtood over the body of Mahummud Shaw, reſolved to kill any one who ſhould attempt to take it away; when a number of Raajepootes, belonging to him and his brother, entered the hall with a palanquin, into which they put Mohin Sing, not yet dead, and were advanced on the way out as far as the ſtation of the rocket men, when the prince entered the hall, but, ſeeing all in confuſion, inſtantly retired, and ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made for the murderer of Mohin Sing, but his domeſtics concealed him. Puddum Sing, ſuſpecting that the prince might be diſpleaſed and order him to be apprehended, reſolved to die in that caſe on the ſpot, and therefore continued ſtanding, until raja Roy Sing Seſodia, an ameer of five thouſand, came and carried him in ſafety to Mohin Sing's houſe.

Mohin Sing breathed his laſt on the road home, and his women burned themſelves alive with the corpſe. The prince was much affected with grief; but, though he made much enquiry, never could find out the murderer.

Sewajee at this time, having made a peace with the king of Hyderabad, and received promiſes and aſſurances to his perfect ſatisfaction, went to viſit him. Adna Pundit, the king's miniſter, though a man of great policy and cunning, and a rival of Sewajee in intrigue, was deceived by his ſuperior art. It was agreed that, joining forces, they ſhould march againſt the Beejapore ſultan, and divide what country they might conquer between them, and afterwards expel the Moguls from Dekkan. Their firſt operation was planned againſt Tanjawer, a zemindaree belonging to Angojee, Sewajee's half brother, tributary to Beejapore.

Sewajee accordingly, having received a great ſum of money and large reinforcements of troops from Hyderabad, marched for Tanjawer, and wrote to Angojee to come and meet him. Angojee, not dreaming of his brother's treachery, came from Tanjawer to Jinjee, agreeably to his requeſt; and they had an interview, at which Sewajee demanded the treaſures which their father Sahjee, he ſaid, had left to him. Angojee, now ſeeing no way for eſcape but by chicane, humbly told his brother, that the fort of Tanjawer, the country, and every thing he had, was at his ſervice; which declaration ſatisfied Sewajee, who ſuppoſed he had his brother in his power, and that he could get from him what he pleaſed; but for once he was deceived. Angojee having returned to his tents, fled the ſame night, with a few confidential ſervants, for Tanjawer, where he arrived in twenty hours from Jinjee, which is diſtant one hundred and twenty miles from that fort. Sewajee upon this plundered his brother's camp; and having gotten poſſeſſion of Jinjee by treachery, as alſo of ſome other forts belonging to Beejapore and Hyderabad, into which he put his own garriſons, retreated, and then ſent back the Hyderabad troops to their own country. Bahadur Khan hearing of the meeting between Sewajee and the king of Hyderabad, marched into his territories; and having exacted the payment of a large ſum of money as a fine, returned to Ahmednuggur; where he remained ſome time, and then encamped for the rains at the great tank of Ferrah Baug. Akhlaaſs Khan Meana, Mohukkum Sing, and others who had been wounded and taken priſoners at Sultanghur, being now releaſed, joined the camp at Ahmednuggur; and having paid their reſpects to Bahadur Khan, were re-eſtabliſhed in their different ranks. Jadoo Terrai Dekkannee and Seedee Hullall, who had been ſent for the protection of Goolſhunabad, having been reprimanded harſhly by Bahadur Khan on the Mharattas entering their neighbourhood, in reſentment, deſerted to Sewajee's army. As the Mharattas had invaded the imperial territories, Bahadur Khan marched from Ahmednuggur, and, leaving moſt of his baggage in the fort of Candahar, advanced with all ſpeed in purſuit of the enemy to the fort of Ramgeer, where he learned that they had left that place two days before, after plundering the town and carrying away ſome of the wives of the inhabitants priſoners. The khan, arriving in the vicinity of Hyderabad, plundered and laid waſte ſome places, at the inſtigation of Dilleer Khan. Intelligence was brought, that the enemy, who had been at Ramgeer, were now divided into two bodies, one of which had paſſed on the borders of the Hyderabad territories into their own country, and the other near Terk Chandeh were plundering the imperial poſſeſſions. Bahadur Khan diſpatched Dilleer Khan, Koottub ad Dien Khan, and other chiefs, after the enemy, who had retreated homewards, and marched in purſuit of the other body himſelf; ſending Bakee Khan and Futtaeh Khan with the artillery and baggage to Aurungabad. He came up with and engaged the enemy at a paſs near the fort of Antour. Raja Shujaun Sing Bondela, and his brother Inder Mun, with the Mogul cavalry, formed the advanced guard. The enemy ſtood firm for ſome time, till Soopkerrun Bondela charged the grand body in conjunction with the troops of Balcheram; when, after a ſhort ſtruggle, they fled, and the royal army purſuing them till night, took much ſpoil and many horſes, which had been ſeized from merchants, to whom they were moſtly reſtored. Bahadur Khan marched the next day through the paſs of Antour, and the day after reſolved to reach Aurungabad, which was ſixteen coſs diſtant. A few officers, who had rode on before, fell in with ſome thouſands of the enemy, and defended themſelves on an eminence till the army came up, when they fled, and Soopkerrun Bondela purſued them for ſome coſs, and killed above four hundred, taking much plunder: his ſon Raow Dulput was wounded. The next day Bahadur Khan arrived with the army at Aurungabad, and encamped ſome time in the neighbourhood of that city. He conferred preſents of horſes and arms on his gallant officers, and, in return for their ſervices, recommended them to his majeſty for promotion to higher rank. He next marched from Aurungabad to Satterah Batterah, thirty coſs diſtant, where he encamped. Dilleer Khan, with his detachment, had purſued the enemy as far as the fort of Merroojee in Beejapore, when he returned with much plunder taken from them. As the Mharattas had for the two laſt ſpring harveſts made incurſions into Khandeſhe through the hills of Ballaghaut, Bahadur Khan cauſed redoubts to be erected in each paſs, and artillery, with proper guards, to be ſtationed in them. Accordingly, they were built at the following places; Ferdapore, Loondapore, Mulkapore, Kuſſoree, Raujdehr, Laknehwara, Deogam, Rajorah, Dilleerpore, and three or four other places.

This year died Koottub al Moolk, ſultan of Hyderabad; and, leaving behind him no male children, was ſucceeded by Abou Houſſun, who had married his eldeſt daughter; a perſon of a moſt debauched character; but, to the ſurprize of all, upon his acceſſion to the throne he threw off every bad habit, and became both an excellent man and prince. According to cuſtom, he ſent ambaſſadors to the imperial court with proper offerings, which were received, and a gracious firmaun returned in anſwer.

Mahabut Khan, on his arrival at court from Dekkan, was appointed a ſecond time to the government of Cabul; but again diſplaced in a ſhort time after, and died on the road in his way to the preſence. He was a chief poſſeſſed of true nobility, and a great encourager of brave ſoldiers, of whom he had always a fine houſehold body. He had a reliance on the Raajepootes, in preference to the Moguls, Shekhs, or Afghauns; and, when in Dekkan, had about a thouſand of the former with him, to whoſe charge he always truſted the guard of his haram and ſleeping apartments. Bahadur Khan beſtowed a munſub and other honours on Beejajee Naick, a capital zemindar of Dekkan, whoſe ſon had married Sewajee's daughter, and was a chief of great gallantry and reputation.

A. H. 1083-4.
A. D. 1672-3.

Bahadur Khan, learning that the Mharattas were collecting in the neighbourhood of Poonah, left his baggage at Chummar Koondah, and by forced marches came up with and gave them a ſignal defeat, in which Soopkerrun Bondela behaved with particular gallantry. He then moved to Burragaum, twenty coſs diſtant from Ahmednuggur, on the banks of the Beemrah, a river ſeparating the Hyderabad territories from thoſe of Beejapore, and which has its ſource from the mountains of Kokun at a place called Bhamean Sunkree, near the fort of Loeghur. Here Bahadur, to perpetuate his memory, built a fort and erected a magnificent palace, which he called Bahadur Ghur. Dulput Roy Bondela was promoted to the rank of three hundred, and the ſons of Bahadur Khan, Mirza Houſſun and Mirza Mhouſſun, were honoured with the titles of khan. Inder Mun Bondela was appointed to command the ſtation of Goolſhunabad. Sutterſal, the ſon of Chumput Bondela, diſguſted at not finding promotion, and being in diſtreſſed circumſtances, went over to Sewajee; but, as he placed little confidence in the people of Hindooſtan, after ſhewing him ſome civilities, he gave him his diſmiſſion; upon which, finding himſelf without reſource, he returned to his own country, where, collecting his dependants, he raiſed a rebellion, and poſſeſſed himſelf of great part of the zemindaree.

About this time died Ali Adil Shaw, king of Beejapore, whoſe anceſtors were deſcendants of the emperors of Turky. Euſuff, a prince of the Ottoman family, was entruſted by his mother to the care of a merchant, through fear of the brother, then emperor. The merchant coming to Damaun brought the young prince with him, and from thence travelled to Dekkan, where, fortune befriending his charge, he founded the kingdom of Beejapore, ſtiling himſelf Euſuff Adil Shaw, and erected the citadel of Beejapore, which bears his name. Ali was ſucceeded by his ſon Secunder, an infant. Khouaſs Khan Hubſhee, a favourite of his father's, was entruſted with his education and the command of the fort. Abd al Kerreem Meana, the ſon of Abd al Raheem, ſon of Belole Khan, (who, in the reign of the late emperor Shaw Jehaun, had followed the fortunes of Khan Jehaun Lodi, and eſcaped with him from Agra, upon his death entering firſt into the ſervice of the king of Hyderabad, and afterwards of the Beejapore prince, who raiſed him to high rank) commanded the minor king's armies.

A. H. 1085.
A. D. 1674.

On the death of Ali Adil Shaw, Sewajee, intending to reduce the country, and marry his ſon Sambah to the daughter of Ruſtum Raow, with royal ſplendour and magnificence, in order to divert from him the imperial arms, that he might be at liberty to execute his deſigns, began to intrigue for that purpoſe. He diſmiſſed Jadoo Terrai and Hullall Khan, who had deſerted to him from the imperial army, telling them he could not keep them, as he now meant to aſk for peace. Theſe chiefs having at the interceſſion of Soopkerrun Bondela been pardoned by Bahadur Khan, returned to his camp. Sewajee now ſent deputies, with preſents of an elephant and many rarities, to Bahadur Khan, requeſting a truce, till through his intereſt forgiveneſs of his crimes from the emperor could be ratified; upon the arrival of which, if the Khan would ſend his eldeſt ſon to conduct him, he would ſubmit to his clemency. Bahadur Khan, not aware of his intriguing craft, conſented to a truce, and immediately ſent off an expreſs to the emperor, then at Houſſun Abdal on the borders of Cabul, which arrived at court in thirteen days. A firmaun was iſſued in reply, that he ſhould be cautious not to be deceived by the Mharatta, and before he formed any treaty, ſend Mallek Berkhordar, who knew the artifice of Sewajee, with ſome confidential ſervants of his own, to ſound his ſecret deſigns, which he ſhould, when explored, communicate to the emperor, who would then give further orders.

Bahadur Khan, upon the arrival of the firmaun, diſpatched Mahummud Saad Khan and Gongaram Guzaratee, confidants of his own, with Mallek Berkhordar, to amuſe Sewajee. This crafty politician, who had already found time to effect part of his ſchemes and poſſeſs himſelf of the fort of Pernalleh, belonging to Beejapore, received the deputies at Rairee, and for the firſt day treated them with all cuſtomary honours; but the next, gave them a final anſwer, ſaying, " What ſuperiority has your maſter gained over " me, that I ſhould conſent to ſubmiſſion? Be gone ſpeedily from "hence, or you will be diſgraced." Upon hearing this, the affrighted deputies returned with an account of their reception to Bahadur Khan, who forwarded it to court. The emperor, out of his abundant kindneſs, to conſole the mortified khan, promoted him to the rank of ſeven thouſand horſe and the title of Khan Jehaun Bahadur Kokultaſh Zuffir Jung; his elder brother, named Muzzuffir Houſſein, to the title of Azum Khan and rank of ſix thouſand; and his ſons, one to the title of Muzzuffir Khan, and the other, of Nuſſerut Khan, with proportionable commands.

Bahadur Khan upon this promotion kept a grand feſtival, to which he invited Namdaur Khan, the ſon of Jatiier Khan, from Buggellana; and gave away among the amras and their followers, thirty one elephants, above five hundred horſes, two thouſand elegant dreſſes, beſides ſwords, armour and other valuable articles.

At this time contentions prevailed between the Dekkanees and Afghauns of Beejapore. Dunnanut Pundit, who was much in the confidence of Khouaſs Khan, artfully promoted the inveteracy of the parties, in hopes that he ſhould ſucceed whatever chief might be diſplaced. He obſerved to Khouaſs Khan, that the Afghauns had acquired too much power in the ſtate; that the prince being a minor, himſelf confined to the fort, and Sewajee having ſeized many diſtricts of the kingdom, in this ſituation it would be prudent to implore the protection of the emperor, in conjunction with his troops to puniſh Sewajee, and regain the uſurped territories; which effected, he might then eaſily expell the mutinous and rebellious Afghauns.

The Ethiopian approved of his ſchemes, and ſent his dewan, Serjam Raow, to Zuffir Jung with offers of friendſhip and alliance, as alſo an invitation to a conference. Zuffir Jung, upon receiving this unexpected but welcome overture, propoſed that Khouaſs Khan ſhould march from Beejapore to Burrapore on the banks of the Kiſtnah, where he would meet him. Accordingly, both parties moving to the place appointed, magnificent tents were pitched; but, as the waters of the Kiſtnah ſuddenly roſe very high, Zuffir Jung went in boats to the camp of Khouaſs Khan, from whence, after ſome converſation, he brought him back with him to his own, and gave him and all his followers a grand entertainment and rich preſents. Mutual alliances were entered into, and the daughter of Khouaſs Khan was betrothed to Nuſſerut Jung, the ſecond ſon of Zuffir Jung; after which the two chiefs took leave of each other, and departed to execute their intended purpoſes.

Abd al Kerreem, who had attended Khouaſs Khan, was encamped at the diſtance of twelve miles, and Dunnanut conveyed to him all the particulars of the interview between Zuffir Jung and his maſter, inſidiouſly obſerving, that if the Hubſhee ſhould make the fort and kingdom an offering to the emperor Aulumgeer, it would put an end to Abd al Kerreem's and his own fortunes.

Abd al Kerreem, who was eager to obtain the regency, determined to take an opportunity of confining Khouaſs Khan on the march to Beejapore; but he being informed of his treachery, left the camp and baggage at Alingah, forty miles from the city, to which he departed ſuddenly in the night, and thus defeated the deſigns of his enemy. On Abd al Kerreem's arrival at Beejapore, a negotiation of reconciliation was ſet on foot, and at length Khouaſs Khan, with a few attendants, came out of the citadel to encourage the Afghauns; and after the uſual ceremonies of meeting, retired with Abd al Kerreem only, to conſult in a private apartment. On notice being given that Khizzer Khan Punnee, a principal ameer, was approaching, Abd al Kerreem left the room, as if to meet him, but the door was ſhut immediately after him, and Khouaſs Khan made a priſoner under a ſtrong guard. Jumſheed, a ſlave of Abd al Kerreem's, got into the fort without oppoſition; and ſoon after he, with Khizzer Khan, entered, and treating with ſhekh Munnaje and the other Dekkanees, perſuaded them to march againſt Sewajee, towards the river Kiſtnah; after which he put Khouaſs Khan to death.

Soon after this, Abd al Kerreem diſpatched Khizzer Khan towards the Kiſtnah, with inſtructions to aſſaſſinate ſhekh Munnaje. Khizzer Khan for this purpoſe invited him to an entertainment. The ſhekh complied with the invitation, and had left his tents, when on the road he heard, that Khizzer Khan had placed a number of armed men in concealment to murder him. The ſhekh, notwithſtanding, proceeded, and when Khizzer Khan came to meet him, alighted and embraced, but ſtabbed the treacherous nobleman while he had him in his arms, eſcaped, and joined his troops on the other ſide of the river. A ſcuffle enſued between the Afghaun and Dekkanee attendants, in the ſquare of the tents, in which many were ſlain on both ſides.

Shekh Munnaje retired to Adonee, and being joined by Seedee Muſaood, Syed Mukhdoom, Sheerza Khan, and other Dekkan lords, made an alliance with Kaſil Koor, a principal zemindar, who had a conſiderable force, and it was reſolved between them, to attack Abd al Kerreem and cut him off.

Abd al Kerreem being informed of the union of the Dekkanees, prepared a conſiderable army, and marched to oppoſe them; when a deſperate battle was fought near the fort of Shaw Doneghur, twelve coſs from Adonee, in which many chiefs were killed on both ſides, and it was doubtful to whom remained the victory. Kaſil Koor, the zemindar, was ſlain. At night Abd al Kerreem beat the march of victory, and encamped on the field of battle. The Dekkanees having in the night conducted their wounded to Adonee, moſt of them went over to the king of Hyderabad. Shekh Munnaje took up his reſidence at Koolburga in his own jaghire, and Abd al Kerreem, with his force much diminiſhed, retired to Beejapore, where he put to death Dunnanut Pundit, who had been the inſtigator of ſuch fatal faction, and ſeizing all his wealth paid his troops their arrears with the money; thus verifying the obſervation, that " He who digs a pit for another, often falls into it " himſelf."

This year the Mharattas invaded the imperial territories near Aurungabad, and Khan Jehaun purſuing them, engaged and defeated their army near Laſoor, only fourteen coſs from the city; after which he chaſed them as far as the fort of Chumber in Kokun. At this time came intelligence of the impriſonment and death of Khouaſs Khan, which diſappointed Khan Jehaun's meaſures, and he repreſented the affair to court; after which he returned to the cantonments at Bahadur Ghur. Orders came from the emperor, that he ſhould endeavour either to take Abd al Kerreem priſoner, or put him to death, and beſiege Beejapore. Dilleer Khan was again appointed ſecond to Khan Jehaun, and departed inſtantly on his nomination from court to Dekkan.

A. H. 1086. A. D. 1675. Khan Jehaun having made the neceſſary preparations for the war againſt Beejapore, ordered Iſlaam Khan Roomee, (formerly named Houſſein and paſha of Buſſorah, who had fought protection with the emperor ſome years ſince, and was promoted to the government of Malwa) from Aurungabad, the charge of which city was given to Raow Bhaow Sing, and marched to the banks of the Beemrah, ten coſs from Sholapore, where he waited for the junction of his troops.

Abd al Kerreem Khan, having left Beejapore, with a great army encamped at Abundee, about ſix coſs diſtant; upon which, Khan Jehaun ſent the women of his camp, with his own and the ſuperfluous baggage, to Sholapore, and ſtationing what he meaned to carry with him on this ſide the Beemrah, which was at this time very high, croſſed with the troops, and formed his diſpoſition of battle. On this day, Raow Raaje Sing Rhatoree, commanding the advanced body of the army, who had been long ill, died on the march. Shekh Munnaje and ſhekh Mahummud Juneedee, having agreeably to promiſe arrived from Koolburga, were introduced to Khan Jehaun by raja Soopkerrun Bondela, and received a preſent of elephants, horſes, and one lack of rupees. Next day the two armies prepared for engagement. Koottub ad Dien Khan with the advance, Iſlaam Khan on the right, with the corps of Soopkerrun Bondela, ſhekh Munnaje and others, Raow Anoop Sing, Ragonaut Sing Mharatta, Bocheraje Cutchwai and others, on the left, having formed, the battle commenced. The enemy charged furiouſly in front of Iſlaam Khan, but his Turks drove them off twice with great loſs, when their ammunition being expended, Iſlaam Khan ordered up ſtores, cloſe to his elephant, and was ſupplying his men, when a ſpark unfortunately lighting among a quantity of cartridges, they blew up, killing and wounding a great number; but to add to the melancholy event, the khan's elephant being frightened at the exploſion, became ungovernable, and ran into the enemy's line, where the khan, his ſon, and the driver, with ſome horſe who had followed their leader, were ſoon cut to pieces; but the elephant having received ſeveral wounds, ran back without his houdah, which had been cut off his back. The heat of the battle next fell on Soopkerrun Bondela, who, together with ſhekh Munnaje and other chiefs, was wounded. The left wing was alſo engaged, and Raow Kibber Sing Rhatoree, Kerrun Sing, a munſubdar, with Raow Raaje Sing, and the other Raajepootes, after fighting deſperately, were wounded. Great numbers on both ſides fell, and the ſwarry elephant of Abd al Kerreem was taken by Kiſhoor Sing Harrah. The battle ceaſed on the approach of night, without being deciſive on either ſide. Khan Jehaun remained on this ſide the river, threw up entrenchments round his camp, and fortified them with artillery. The Afghauns during the night made an attack upon the baggage on the other ſide of the river, great part of which they plundered, put numbers to death, and carried off ſuch of the followers of the camp as they choſe; ſo that, from this loſs, and the ſudden riſe of the river, it no longer remained in the power of the imperial army to oppoſe the Afghauns. Koottub ad Dien Khan, with the approbation of Khan Jehaun, formed a truce; and the army then recroſſing the river, ſhekh Munnaje was diſpatched to Koolburga, to ſecure poſſeſſion if poſſible of that fortreſs. At this time Dilleer Khan arrived from the preſence, and the waters of the Beemrah, on account of the rains, ſtill continuing exceedingly high, it was agreed for the preſent, that the fort of Tulderruk ſhould be taken from the ſons of Khizzer Khan Punnee, who reſided there. Khan Jehaun accordingly marched, and began his approaches. Raja Inder Mun Bondela, agreeably to orders, joined the camp from Goolſhunabad. Mahummud Atta, a ſon of Khan Jehaun's, being wounded by a cannon ſhot, died. Akhlaaſs Khan Meana made an aſſault on the town belonging to the fort, and carried it. Abd al Kerreem at the inſtigation of the Afghauns in the royal army, who reſpected him on account of their connection by tribe, having moved from Beejapore, croſſed the Beemrah with a conſiderable force, to the relief of Tulderruk; upon which Khan Jehaun thought proper to raiſe the ſiege and march to receive the enemy. Abd al Kerreem encamped within ſix miles of the fort, and his tents appeared in ſight of the royal camp. Though the day was far ſpent and twilight approached, yet by the advice of Dilleer Khan and others, having left Runmuſt Khan for the protection of the baggage, a battle commenced. A body of Afghauns from Abd al Kerreem's line, and another from the fort, having formed a junction, charged in the rear of Khan Jehaun's army, and the khan having croſſed a watercourſe, deep and muddy, with Bocheraaje Cutchwai and Ragonaut Sing Mharatta, oppoſed the enemy. Bocheraaje was killed fighting gallantly, and the latter, with many others, was wounded. Koottub ad Dien Khan, charging to their aſſiſtance, preſerved the wounded from being cut to pieces. Abd al Kerreem trying to gain the fort during the night, his baggage was plundered, and Khan Jehaun followed him within cannon ſhot of the walls. After ſome days the army encamped at Khautkaloon, eight coſs from Tulderruk. Raow Anoop Sing, at the requeſt of Khan Jehaun, was honoured with the title of raja. Madna Pundit, miniſter to Abou Houſſun, king of Hyderabad, had joined Abd al Kerreem with troops and money; but ſeeing that oppoſition could not in the end be made to the imperial army, retreated to his own country. Abd al Kerreem, after remaining a month in Tulderruk, returned to Beejapore. Khan Jehaun ſent his dewan Luckeram, to bring over ſome Beejapore chiefs, who had taken refuge at Hyderabad, as alſo the troops of that ſtate, to join him, and marched in purſuit of Abd al Kerreem towards the Beemrah. Many ſkirmi[illegible]ned on the route. At Hingeh he halted, and called t[illegible] Dekkanees and exiled Beejaporees, who had fled to differe[illegible] Seedee Muſaood, Sheerza Khan, and others, joined. Luckeram brought an army from Hyderabad, and had alſo effected a truce with Sewajee. Four thouſand horſe, ſent by different imperial fojedaars, and a number of other troops, joined; ſo that an army was now collected ſufficient to reduce Beejapore.

While affairs were thus ſituated, the Afghaun chiefs of the imperial army, out of regard to their tribe, privately ſent meſſages to Abd al Kerreem, that if this vaſt army ſhould march to Beejapore, his affairs would be ruined paſt redemption; ſo that his only way to avoid the ſtorm would be to make propoſals of peace to Khan Jehaun, and come in to viſit him, after which the troops

would

would be diſperſed, and he be at liberty to regulate his government.

Abd al Kerreem, liſtening to this advice, entreated peace of Khan Jehaun, promiſing that if the imperial army ſhould move to the banks of the Beemrah, he would come to meet him; and requeſting that he would ſend Akhlaaſs Khan to conduct him to an interview; after which he would ſubmit to any conditions he might impoſe, as he regarded himſelf now as the emperor's ſubject.

Khan Jehaun, after deliberating on the diſcordant ſtate of his army, agreed to his requeſts; and having ſent away the auxiliaries to their different countries, moved from Hingeh, and encamped on the banks of the Beemrah.

A. H. 1086. A. D. 1676. Khan Jehaun, agreeably to the requeſt of Ab[illegible] Kerreem, ſent his brother Akhlaaſs Khan to meet him, and a few days afterwards diſpatched alſo Koottub ad [illegible]. A letter arrived from ſhekh Munnaje, that now th[illegible] opportunity, which, if troops were ſent to Alinder, h[illegible] ſeize, of acquiring the fort of Koolburga. Abd al Kerreem requeſting that Dilleer Khan might be ſent to receive him, Khan Jehaun left him at Angulkote, and went himſelf to Alinder, from whence he ſent Gongaram, his own dewan, with Vizier Beg, ſon to Collinder Khan, the kelladaar of Zuffirabad Bieder, to ſhekh Munnaje, who, on the day of their arrival with him, got admiſſion into Koolburga by treachery, and having confined Nangooroy, the khelladaar, put the place into their poſſeſſion, and agreeably to orders returned to Khan Jehaun. Khan Jehaun, through Runmuſt Khan, made promiſes of munſubs and preſents to the ſons and dependants of Khizzer Khan, and ſending his own bukhſhi, Alla ad Dien Khan, to them, they evacuated the fort of Tulderruk, when Zuffirnuggur, commonly called Tumnee, was allotted for the reſidence of their families.

lies. After viſiting Tulderruk, and ordering meaſures for its ſafety, he returned to camp, and diſpatched to court an account of his operations; which meeting the emperor's approbation, the ſons of Khan Jehaun were promoted to higher rank; Muzzuffir Khan to the title of Himmut Khan Bahadur, and Nuſſerut Khan to that of Sippedar Khan. Raja Inder Mun Bondela dying, at the requeſt of Khan Jehaun, his zemindaree and the title of raja were conferred upon his ſon Jeſſwunt Sing.

Abd al Kerreem having left Beejapore with Akhlaaſs Khan, and condoled with the ſons of Koottub ad Dien Khan, who had died on the road, met Dilleer Khan. He encamped about four coſs from Alinder; and Khan Jehaun, agreeably to his promiſes, having pitched a moſt ſplendid tent, with poles and ornaments of ſilver, went in the greateſt pomp and magnificence, attended by all the amras, to receive him. Abd al Kerreem Khan and Dilleer Khan, with all the Afghauns in their train, advanced, and the chiefs firſt met ſitting on their elephants, and, after paſſing mutual compliments, alighted at the tent; when Khan Jehaun preſented Abd al Kerreem with elephants, horſes, and arms, ornaments of jewels, trays of rich cloths, as alſo the tent, and proper carriages for its conveyance. After converſation, he diſmiſſed him to his camp, and returned to his own. Mallek Berkhordar, agreeably to the emperor's orders, was ſent as reſident to Beejapore. Abd al Ruſſool Khan was appointed kelladaar of Koolburga, Collinder Khan of Tulderruk, and Vizier Beg exalted by the title of Jaun Naldru Baz Khan.

Abd al Kerreem Khan and Dilleer Khan being diſſatisfied at Khan Jehaun's having got poſſeſſion of Tulderruk and Koolburga, agreeably to the ſchemes they had formed from the inſtant of their meeting, wrote petitions to court, ſetting forth, that Khan Jehaun had made private agreements with the king of Hyderabad, the Dekkannees,

nees, the king of Beejapore, and Sewajee, and did not act with vigour in his government; but that if he ſhould be called to the preſence, and proper aſſiſtance afforded them, they would bring Hyderabad into the imperial poſſeſſion without delay.

Khan Jehaun, with Abd al Kerreem and the united armies, marched from Alinder to Koolburga, and it was agreed that they ſhould go ſhortly againſt Hyderabad. They viſited the tomb of the famous ſyed Mahummud Geſoo-derauz, who flouriſhed in the reign of ſultan Firoze Bhamenee. It is a very magnificent edifice, covered with a dome, in the middle of an extenſive court. Many of his deſcendants repoſe near the ſaint, over whom they have erected domes. A number of them ſtill reſide there; and during the reigns of the Dekkan ſultans, great ſums of money were annually offered to them in vows and preſents. The kings of Beejapore and Hyderabad, as alſo the zemindars in the vicinity, every year gave rich preſents, and many villages were aſſigned by both kings to defray the expenſes of the tomb. When it came into the imperial poſſeſſion, Aurungzebe alſo ſettled ſome farms upon it. There is almoſt a continual diſſention between the deſcendants of the ſaint, who generally come to blows every year; and they ſpend their time in an affluence and luxury, enjoyed but by few of the firſt nobles. There are alſo at Koolburga many tombs of the Bhamenee kings of Dekkan. In the pergunnah of Alinder are the magnificent ſepulchres of Ladee Anſaree, the ſaint's ſiſter, and her children; and at Boorahannuggur thoſe of many celebrated perſonages.

The emperor, deceived by the petitions before mentioned, recalled Khan Jehaun from Dekkan, and appointed Dilleer Khan in his room. Khan Jehaun left Koolburga for court, the ſame day that the firmaun arrived for his recall.

Dilleer Khan and Abd al Kerreem marched with the army to Mulkeh, a fort ten coſs from Koolburga, which being but of little ſtrength, the beſieged evacuated it in the night, and fled to join the Dekkanees, who made ſuch oppoſition, that the Afghauns durſt not even dare to look towards Hyderabad. There now fell a continual rain, and the ſcarcity of grain in the camp became exceſſive. Skirmiſhes between the two armies occurred for two months together daily. Mahummud Beg Khan, commander of the artillery, Serafrauz Khan Dekkanee and his ſons, with many other imperial officers, were wounded. The other Afghauns who had an enmity to Runmuſt Khan and the ſons of Khizzer Khan, for having given up the fort of Tulderruk, did not aſſiſt them in the day of battle; but, as they had a ſelect body of their own, they gallantly ſtood firm in the field, were wounded, and great numbers of their followers killed.

The troops of Abd al Kerreem being diſtreſſed, deſerted in great numbers; ſo that the tide of ill fortune turned againſt the royal army, and it became impoſſible to remain much longer in the enemy's country. Dilleer Khan therefore, on this account, and to pleaſe Abd al Kerreem, for whom he entertained the utmoſt friendſhip, and who had been taken ill, ſet on foot a negotiation of truce with the Dekkanees, and began to retreat towards Koolburga, intending to leave his ſuperfluous baggage there, and after ſupplying himſelf with proviſions, to return and attack them.

The firſt day's march the Dekkanees did not moleſt him; but on the ſecond, looking on the Afghauns as running away, appeared in great numbers, attacked the baggage, killed hundreds of people, and acquired an immenſe plunder. The fight continued from daylight till ſun-ſet, when the royal army halted at a dry nullah, where it remained two days in the greateſt confuſion, being obliged to dig wells, before the camp could be ſupplied with water. Akhlaaſs Khan and Runmuſt Khan Punnee commanded the right wing, Abd al Kerreem the left, Dilleer Khan protected the baggage, and Soopkerrun Bondela, with Ghierut and Muzzuffir, nephews of Dilleer Khan, were ſtationed in the rear of the whole; but though they had above eight thouſand horſe, it was difficult to quit their ſtation. Soopkerrun Bondela, his ſon Dulput Roy, and the other Raajepoote chiefs, having conſulted together, repreſented to Dilleer Khan that it was impoſſible to remain here longer, as the army muſt periſh from want of proviſions. This advice had a proper effect, and the chiefs being all united, for the royal honour, and their own preſervation, at length marched, but in twelve days could only move ten coſs, when they arrived at Koolburga. The Dekkanees, who were full ſeventy thouſand in number, ſeldom ceaſed from the attack; but as the fortune of Aurungzebe attended the Raajepootes, the enemy did not prevail. The Raajepootes upon this trying occaſion ſhewed aſtoniſhing inſtances of valour; but which to relate would appear as vain boaſting. Mahummud, the ſon of Koottub ad Dien Khan, was killed by a rocket; and on this march the camp was without grain for ſome days, when the poorer ſort were obliged to eat the roots of the plaintain and date tree, from which numbers were taken ill, and died ſhortly after of diſorders in the bowels.

As Abd al Kerreem was ſo dangerouſly ill as to be pronounced paſt recovery, Dilleer Khan negotiated a peace between him, Seedee Muſaood, and the other Dekkan chiefs, bringing them together for a conference. Mutual civilities and viſits were exchanged between the chiefs of both armies, and it was agreed that Abd al Kerreem ſhould deliver up the citadel of Beejapore to Seedee Muſaood, who ſhould then pay off the arrears to all the troops. Abd al Kerreem ſoon after died, and Dilleer Khan delivered up his ſon Abd al Raooff for education to Seedee Muſaood, who promiſed to let him ſucceed his father in the command of the army. The Dekkanees then returned to Beejapore, where Seedee Muſaood delayed to pay the arrears of Abd al Kerreem's troops, and they offered numberleſs indignities to his ſon, who had inherited but little property from his father. The ſoldiers proceeded to ſuch extremities and clamour for their pay, as to ſeize every thing he had, not excepting even the jewels and ornaments of the women, which they forced from them without regard to common reſpect and decency for the honour of their chief. While the young man was thus uſed by his own tribe, the treatment he experienced from ſtrangers may eaſily be imagined. Dilleer Khan returned with his army to the imperial provinces, thus ending, without any advantage, a very expenſive and diſgraceful campaign.

Khan Jehaun Bahadur on his arrival at court, not finding himſelf treated ſo graciouſly as uſual, abſented himſelf from the durbar, and reſigned his rank and commands, upon which Aurungzebe obſerved, that he had no occaſion for pomp, and commanded him to reſign his equipage and train. Accordingly, the khan made an offering of his elephants, horſes, and other enſigns of dignity, to the emperor, who, however, after ſome time, was graciouſly pleaſed to recall him to the preſence, and reſtore him to all his honours. Raja Jeſſwunt Sing Bondela, ſon of the late raja Inder Mun, joined the army in Dekkan with a force befitting his rank.

A.H. 1091.
A.D. 1680.

Dilleer Khan receiving information that the Mharattas had appeared near Zuffirabad Bieder, having left his baggage at Porundeh with Soopkerrun Bondela, marched to purſue them; and having defeated them and cleared the country, returned to paſs the rains at Bahadur Ghur. Intelligence arrived that Sewajee had detached a force againſt the fort of Joneer. Abd al Yezzeez Khan, the governor, was a perſon of much experience and gallantry. Three hundred of the enemy in the night aſcended the walls by rope ladders, and entered; but though the kelladaar had ſent moſt of his people with his ſons to the aſſiſtance of Yiah Khan, fojedaur of the town, he bravely collected the few he had left, with his ſervants, and put moſt of the aſſailants to the ſword. A few were found the next day ſkulking under the buſhes and ſtones at the bottom of the wall, watching for an opportunity to eſcape. Theſe he treated with much kindneſs, and ſent them back to Sewajee, with a meſſage, that while he commanded in the fort, he defied him to take it.

As the emperor was much diſſatisfied at the late behaviour of the Afghaun chiefs, Jumlat al Moolk Aſſud Khan was ordered to command in Dekkan, until the appointment of another ſoubahdar. The prince Mahummud Mauzim ſhortly after was inveſted with the government, and a firmaun came to Dilleer Khan, enquiring, as Abd al Kerreem had died, the Afghauns were diſperſed, and diſſentions occurred among the Dekkanees, why he had delivered up Beejapore to Seedee Muſaood? He was ordered to collect the Afghauns, and enroll them in the imperial ſervice; alſo to draw over to him the officers of Beejapore and Hyderabad, till ſuch time as jaghires could be beſtowed, allowing each horſeman daily pay from the royal treaſury, and to march immediately againſt Beejapore.

Dilleer Khan, agreeably to theſe inſtructions, having invited the relations of Abd al Kerreem and other Afghaun chiefs, Syed Lutteef and Eeſah Ghulzee, Dekkanees of Beejapore and Hyderabad, recommended proportionate rank for each; and for ſuch horſes as they brought, which amounted to about twenty thouſand, he allowed daily pay. Many chiefs received jaghires, and were recommended by Dilleer Khan for titles of nobility. Dilleer Khan's nephew was raiſed to the rank of a thouſand, and came to Dekkan; where, except the Afghauns, none were now eſteemed worthy of diſtinction.

On the breaking up of the rains, Dilleer Khan marched from Bahadur Ghur. Sambah, the ſon of Sewajee, who had quarrelled with his father, and was confined by him in the fort of Pernalleh, having made his eſcape with a few attendants, ſent a meſſenger to Dilleer Khan, requeſting his protection, and that he would ſend a force to aſſiſt him, as Sewajee's troops were following him cloſely. Dilleer Khan immediately diſpatched Akhlaaſs Khan, with Ghierut Khan, his own nephew, and other chiefs, with a proper force, and followed himſelf. Sambah having met Akhlaaſs Khan at Kerkum Deoee, joined Dilleer Khan with a few of his family; and the khan, regarding his coming as a moſt favourable occurrence, beat the march of victory, and repreſented it to the imperial court, from whence Sambah was ſhortly after honoured with the title of raja, the rank of ſeven thouſand, and a preſent of an elephant. Dilleer Khan made him many preſents himſelf, and appointed a reſidence for his family, with a proper guard, at Bahadur Ghur.

Dilleer Khan remained the reſt of this year at Illoje, preparing for the expedition againſt Beejapore. Soopkerrun Bondela being dangerouſly ill, left his ſon Dulput Roy and his followers with the army, and retired to Bahadur Ghur.

In the beginning of this year, Dilleer Khan marched againſt A. H. 1092.
Bhopaul Ghur, a fort belonging to Sewajee in the Beejapore coun- A. D. 1681.
try. Cannon being planted upon a height which commanded the inner part of the place, it was taken in three hours, and a vaſt quantity of grain found in ſtore, part of which was delivered to the troops, much taken by the camp followers, and the remainder ſet on fire; after which the fort was razed to the ground.

The ſame day the Mharattas appeared, intending to ſuccour the place, and an action enſued, in which they were defeated and fled. The ſame body, a few days afterwards, ſuddenly attacked and plundered a detachment ſent to collect ſupplies for the army, under the command of Eeruch Khan, who took ſhelter in a ſmall fort, leaving his people and baggage to ſhift for themſelves. Dilleer Khan waited on the banks of the Beemrah for ſome neceſſary ſtores, and to croſs his cannon, the river being flooded.

Soopkerrun Bondela, an ameer of two thouſand five hundred, died in his fifty third year, at Bahadur Ghur, and was much lamented by all. Many of his women burned themſelves upon the funeral pile with his corpſe. He was a ſoldier unequalled, had in repeated battles won the prize of valour, and was in general ſucceſsful. He often remarked, that he had eſcaped with life from many dangers; and that in the day of battle a ſoldier ſhould never think of himſelf; for whatever the Almighty had decreed would happen of courſe. He alſo ſaid there were two days in which a perſon ſhould not fear death, on that on which providence had decreed it ſhould not happen, and that on which it had decreed it ſhould. He was bountiful to his friends, and unanxious for his own fortune. Dilleer Khan and all the amras condoled with his ſon Dulput Roy, who was recommended to court, and exalted to the rank of five hundred. Soopkerrun always kept a numerous and gallant body of men in his ſervice, by paying whom munificently he was never rich; and though his ſon Dulput Roy was raiſed but to a trifling rank, yet, regarding his future proſpects, he encouraged all his father's followers, and retained them in his own ſervice.

Secunder Adil Shaw now repreſented to Aurungzebe, that he eſteemed himſelf as one of his ancient ſlaves, and notwithſtanding Dilleer Khan was advancing to invade his country, if the emperor would permit one of his ſons to marry his ſiſter, he ſhould regard it as an honour. This met with the royal approbation, and, accordingly, Secunder ſent the young princeſs with much pomp, conducted by the phyſician Shumſe ad Dien to court, and Dilleer

Khan ſupplied him with a proper eſcort; but, notwithſtanding this, he advanced to Beejapore, which, although he had twenty thouſand horſe with him, he was not able to blockade. On one ſide he kept up a conſtant cannonade, and ruined a canal made by the firſt Adil Shaw, which flowed by the citadel and the great moſque, through the city. The enemy made a ſally from the town, and preſſed hard on Syed Lutteef, but Dulput Roy being ſent to his aſſiſtance, he repelled the aſſailants, and took their ſtandard. At this time, the conduct of Dilleer Khan not being approved of by Aurungzebe, he recalled him to the preſence; and the prince Mahummud Mauzim alſo being removed from the government, Khan Jehaun Bahadur was a ſecond time appointed to the ſoubahdaree of Dekkan. Dilleer Khan, upon this, raiſed the ſiege of Beejapore, and plundered the country all around it, digging up and totally deſtroying the magnificent gardens in the environs of the city. Sewajee's meſſengers were allowed communication with Sambah, who now made his eſcape with only eleven attendants; ſo that it muſt have happened by the connivance of Dilleer Khan, who made no enquiries or example among the guards who watched his perſon. Dilleer Khan next attacked the town of Sunker, near Beejapore, and having battered down the walls with his cannon, the troops entered, and began to plunder; but the inhabitants, after a deſperate ſkirmiſh, drove them off again with very great loſs, when Dilleer Khan evacuated the country.

This year died the Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing, near Cabul; and his followers brought his infant children, and his women who did not burn with him, towards their native country. Orders were ſent to conduct them to court, where on their arrival, Aurungzebe inſiſted on the children being made Mahummedans. Upon this the Raajepoote attendants, determining to die rather than ſubmit to this order, fled with their charge towards the raja's territories, and being hotly purſued by the emperor's troops, fought valiantly, and were moſtly cut to pieces, but the women and infants arrived ſafely at Jodepore. After this, the courtiers brought a young child to his majeſty, and pretended he was the maharaja's ſon; which the emperor feigning to believe, had him circumciſed, named Mahummedee Rauje, and educated as ſuch. The emperor, diſpleaſed at the reſiſtance of the Raajepootes to his commands, marched to expel the ſons and relations of the late raja from Jodepore; which fort ſoon fell into his hands, and raja Ajeet Sing, with the family, took ſhelter in the receſſes of the mountains and woods. Inder Sing was exalted to the rank of three thouſand, and the poſſeſſion of the rauje; but as the dependants of the late prince and the people could not be prevailed upon to pay him a proper obedience, and the country remained long in an unſettled ſtate, he was degraded and depoſed.

Sewajee having marched from his country to invade the imperial territories, totally laid waſte the diſtrict of Jalneher and others; and his ſoldiers, notwithſtanding his commands to the contrary, offered inſults to the ſervants of Jaun Mahummud, a religious, from whoſe curſes it was believed Sewajee was taken ill, and ſhortly after died.[a] Sewajee was as a ſoldier unequalled, ſkilled in the arts of government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his ſchemes wiſely, and executed them with ſteadineſs. He conſulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice, which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought beſt applicable to his deſigns. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by

[a] The Mharatta report is, that he was poiſoned by his wife Soorabaye, who could not procure his conſent for her ſon Rama to ſucceed him. Sewajee in this laſt expedition was defeated, and hotly purſued by the Mogul general, Runmuſt Khan. Nearly at the ſame time, his fleet was almoſt deſtroyed by the Siddees, in conjunction with the Engliſh of Bombay. It is probable, therefore, that he died neither by poiſon, nor the viſitation of God at the prayers of a devotee, but rather, by an illneſs from fatigue in his flight, and vexation at the ill ſucceſs of his arms.

by the ſucceſs of their execution. He built palaces and erected fortifications in every part of his country; and it ſeemed as if he had the art of ſeeing all hidden treaſures, for wherever his people were ſent to make war, he directed them to ſpots where valuables were buried, as if he had laid them there himſelf. He kept forty thouſand horſes in his ſtables, which he had mounted to action by ſoldiers named bargeers. Every ten horſes had one taweeldaur, who had the care of feeding them, as alſo one water carrier, and a torch bearer; each hundred had an officer over the ten taweeldaurs; and every thouſand a chief, who commanded the other ten. Wherever he ſent five or ſix thouſand, a chief of conſequence commanded on the ſervice. He alſo entertained men who had their own horſes; but the Mharattas, who had moſt pay, were bargeers. When he detached an army on ſervice, he ſupplied his bargeers with clothing and arms; and after the plunder of a country, whatever remained in their hands above their amount, was carried to the account of his treaſury. He had numberleſs informers about his troops; ſo that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up.

[a] Sambah, or Sambajee, who ſucceeded his father in the rauje, generally ſpent his time in female pleaſures and exceſſive drinking, and poſſeſſed no talents for government. He purſued ſuch a line of conduct as diſobliged his father's ſervants, and in a ſhort time diſſipated in vanity the treaſures Sewajee had amaſſed. He liſtened to the advice of no one, having a conceited opinion of his own abilities, and choſe for his favourite, Kubkulluſs, a bramin, with whom he acted ſuch ſcenes as made him hateful to the world.

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[a] The partizans of Rama endeavoured to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of Sambah, but were ſoon overcome, and Rama put into confinement. Soorabaye, in deſpair at the fate of her ſon, put herſelf to death.

Aſker Khan Bukhſhi and Dulput Roy, with Serafrauz Khan and other amras, having obtained leave from Dilleer Khan, went to meet Khan Jehaun. Dilleer Khan marched to eſcort his women from Bahadur Ghur, and prepare for his journey to the preſence. Khan Jehaun having arrived, after an interview with the prince Mahummud Mauzim, diſpatched an eſcort with him to court, agreeably to orders, and then halted for the rainy ſeaſon near the fort of Aoont. After the rains, the Mharattas having entered the imperial territories, Khan Jehaun marched along the banks of the Gung on the road to Lochghur, which had been deſtroyed by Khan Dowraun; and moving through the paſs of Ferdapore, ten coſs from Aurungabad, aſcended the mountains of Kunneher, through a moſt uneven road, covered with wood; ſo that the troops met with great difficulties, and were two days and nights without their tents and baggage, diſtreſſed for water and proviſions. At length he encamped near the tomb of ſhekh Fereed, thirty coſs from Aurungabad. At this city died Raow Bhaow Sing Harrah, and many of his women ſacrificed themſelves on his funeral pile. As he had no ſon, his nephew was ſent for, agreeably to the imperial orders by the prince Mahummud Akber, to Oojein, where he was ſtabbed in the wardrobe as he was putting on a dreſs of honour, given upon his inveſtiture in the zemindaree of his uncle. This was ſuppoſed to have been done by the emperor's command. Raja Anoop Sing Rhatoree was left in charge of Aurungabad, and Khan Jehaun detached Raow Dulput in purſuit of the Mharattas.

A. H. 1094. A. D. 1682. The beginning of this year, when Khan Jehaun was encamped at Babilgaum, ſixteen coſs from Aurungabad, intelligence was brought one morning, about four o'clock, that the Mharattas, by the route of Ahmednuggur and Moorgee Puttun, were advancing rapidly towards Aurungabad. He iſſued orders of march inſtantly, and having ſecured his baggage, left a force to protect it; then moving from the ground with all expedition, reached the city about noon; which, if he had not arrived that day, muſt inevitably have been plundered. Accounts were now brought that the enemy were ſeen in great numbers at Kaſee Porah and the Hill of Sitterrah; alſo, that raja Anoop Sing, with his followers, was drawn up in his quarters, but durſt not venture to advance; upon which Khan Jehaun marched on with all poſſible ſpeed, and upon his appearance the enemy fled without daring to engage, when he encamped at the tank of Maharaja Jeſſwunt Sing. The inhabitants of the city had been much alarmed, and ſhut up their houſes, the doors of which they had barricadoed, and prepared for defence. Khan Jehaun, as the rains were now ſetting in, took up his reſidence in the imperial palace; and an order having arrived from court for the purpoſe, began to erect a wall round the city, in order to prevent any ſudden attack from an enemy.

Intelligence arrived, that ſultan Mahummud Akber, from the raſhneſs of youth, and the intrigues of the Raajepootes, having rebelled, the emperor had marched with a few troops from Ajmeer to correct him. The prince had, without ſtanding a battle, fled, with Darruk Daſs Rhatoree, towards Dekkan. Khan Jehaun, upon this intelligence, marched from the city at twelve o'clock at night, and on the road received a letter from the fojedaur of Buggellana, informing him, that Akber had gone by that way to Goolſhunabad, and the khan, on his arrival there, found that he had only one day before paſſed and entered Kokun by the road of Terrung; upon which, being diſappointed of overtaking the fugitives, he retreated to Aurungabad, and diſpatched the news to court: but it was afterwards repreſented, that Khan Jehaun was negligent in the purſuit, and might have taken the prince, if he had choſen. Sambah, eſteeming Akber's coming as a fortunate circumſtance, received him with the reſpect due to his rank, and gave him a ſuitable reſidence near the fort of Khulna, on the ſea coaſt. He appointed extenſive hunting grounds for his amuſement, preſented

him

him daily with money to pay ſix hundred cavalry, his followers, and once a week, regularly, viſited him, always obſerving a proper deference to his dignity, as one of the imperial princes.

Dulput Roy, who had been detached to puniſh the Mharattas, returned after his campaign to Aurungabad, when an extraordinary and dangerous affair occurred to him. It appeared that a ſervant of Sambah's, having taken a houſe in Begum Porah, ſecretly levied ſoldiers and bought arms for the ſervice of the rebel prince. This intelligence was conveyed to Khan Jehaun, who diſpatched a guard to ſeize the accuſed perſon; and it happened that, Dulput Roy paſſing at the time, he ran through the crowd of his attendants, and got clear off. Khan Jehaun's people avowed that they had taken the man, and that the roy's followers had ſeized him from them by force; upon which the khan ſent to demand him of the roy; but he, who had not the leaſt knowledge of the affair, went to Khan Jehaun, and related his innocence of the charge. Khan Jehaun ſtill relying on the declaration of his own people, was offended; and the roy, finding argument of no avail, left him in a paſſion. Two days afterwards, the khan determined to ſend a force to ſearch for the offender; but all the Bondelas in the city, hearing of his intentions, joined Dulput Roy, who reſolved to oppoſe ſuch indignity; upon which Khan Jehaun deſiſted: but being exceedingly enraged, repreſented the affair to court, as did alſo Dulput Roy. The emperor graciouſly obſerved, on hearing both ſides of the queſtion, that the roy was an ancient imperial ſervant, incapable of ſuch treacherous behaviour, and ordered him to join the prince Mahummud Mauzim, who was again appointed to govern in Dekkan.

Khan Jehaun, at the breaking up of the rains, marched to Bahadur Ghur, and the prince arrived at Aurungabad. Houſſun Ali Khan was detached with an army for the puniſhment of the

Mharattas and conqueſt of Kokun, and Dulput Roy ordered along with him. Many ſevere engagements were fought in this expedition, in which the roy performed ſignal ſervices. Jadoo Roy Dekkanee, an ameer of three thouſand, was killed, and Jagdeo Roy, his grandſon, promoted to his rank. Khan Jehaun, leaving his baggage at Bahadur Ghur, purſued the enemy whenever he heard of their entering the royal territories.

In the beginning of this year, Houſſun Ali was detached for the puniſhment of the Mharattas by the way of Porundeh. Kiſhen Sing, the grandſon of the late Mirza Raja Jey Sing Sewai, who, throwing aſide the manners of the Raajepootes, imitated thoſe of the Moguls, was killed in a drunken quarrel for a dancing girl, near Porundeh, by an Afghaun. This year Aurungzebe reſolved to extirpate Sambajee, and began his march from Ajmeer towards Dekkan. Dulput Roy was promoted to the rank of ſix hundred by the royal favour. A. H. 1095. A. D. 1683.

The emperor, after remaining ſome time at Boorahanpore, moved with a vaſt army into Dekkan, and arrived at Aurungabad. The prince Mahummud Mauzim Shaw, with Dilleer Khan Afghaun, was detached to Ahmednuggur. Shaub ad Dien Khan, ſon of Koollich Khan, ſuddur al ſuddoor, with Dulput Roy, and other imperial officers, were ordered to beſiege the fort of Ramſudje, five coſs from Goolſhunabad. Having began their approaches, they erected upon an eminence near the walls a platform of wood, or cavalier, which could contain five hundred men, and was raiſed ſtory upon ſtory to ſuch a height, that the ſoldiers at the top could fire muſquetry at the beſieged within the walls, ſo as to prevent them daring to ſhew their heads from under cover. Intelligence being brought to Aurungzebe, that Sambajee's army had marched to raiſe the ſiege, Khan Jehaun was ordered to canton at Goolſhunabad, in order to be ready to ſuccour the aſſailants in caſe of neceſſity; and he accordingly marched from Bahadur Ghur. Khan A. H. 1096. A. D. 1684.

Jehaun leaving his army, went to pay his reſpects to the emperor at Aurungabad, taking with him Runmuſt Khan, who, at his requeſt, was promoted to the title of Bahadur Khan, and ſent with a detachment againſt Kokun. Shaub ad Dien Khan was ordered to the vicinity of Juneer, where the enemy were committing depredations, and Khan Jehaun to command the ſiege of Ramſudje, upon which place an unſucceſsful aſſault was made ſome time after, and Dulput Roy, with many others, wounded. Dulput was promoted to the rank of ſeven hundred. Mahummud Moraud was honoured with the title of khan, and the office of ſecond bukhſhi in addition to the other poſts which he held in Khan Jehaun's army. Bahadur Khan Runmuſt marched towards Kokun, and repreſented to the emperor, that if Khan Jehaun ſhould be ſtationed at the paſs of Mhajah, he could then invade the country. Another aſſault was made upon the fort of Ramſudje, but it proved unſucceſsful; upon which the ſiege was raiſed, and the great platform of wood built by Shaub ad Dien at an immenſe expenſe, being filled with combuſtibles, was ſet on fire and deſtroyed. The beſieged upbraided the troops with cowardice as they retreated, calling out to them to ſtop and cover themſelves with the aſhes of their battery.

Bahadur Khan entered Kokun by the paſs of Mhajah; and as the incurſions of the enemy were daring near Goolſhunabad, Khan Jehaun moved towards that town, upon which the enemy took to flight; when leaving his baggage to the charge of Maha Sing Bhadoreah, fojedaur of the place, he purſued the fugitives. Orders were iſſued to Khan Jehaun to join the prince Moiz ad Dien, eldeſt ſon of the prince Mahummud Mauzim Shaw Aulum, who had marched for the puniſhment of the enemy. Accordingly, having ordered his baggage from Goolſhunabad, he joined the prince near Rampore, on the banks of the Gung, ſixteen coſs from Aurungabad. The prince did him the honour to alight from his horſe at their meeting, and embrace him; at hearing which the emperor was diſpleaſed, and angrily enquired of Shaw Aulum, why his ſon had condeſcended ſo far from his dignity. The prince replied, that the emperor Jehaungeer had deigned to honour by the like favour Mortiza Khan, after his defeating ſultan Khooſeroo.

The prince Moiz ad Dien, after halting ſome days in the vicinity of Nabudter, marched to Zuffirabad Bieder; where, on the day of his arrival, intelligence was brought him, that the imperial elephants and thoſe of Shaw Aulum, which had been ſent to fodder at Patterree Bacherra, were juſt attacked by a body of the enemy. Khan Jehaun, inſtantly leaving the prince with the baggage at the fort of Bieder, marched; and hearing on the route that the elephants were carried off, he quitted the little baggage he then had with him, and moved night and day with redoubled ſpeed after the Mharattas, who fled at his appearance, and he recovered the elephants, except a few that were ſwifteſt of foot, which the enemy had ſent on before them. He did not deſiſt from the purſuit, but leaving what he had recovered in charge of the fojedaurs of the diſtricts, marched on, and near the borders of Terk Chandeh recovered the remainder from the Mharattas; after which he returned to within four coſs of Zuffirabad, and ſending for his baggage, encamped on the banks of the tank of Kamſeaneh. The troops in this march experienced numerous hardſhips, and even Khan Jehaun was without his tent and proper proviſions. Numbers of the ſoldiers fell behind, fatigued, at every place on the route, and were not able to join for ſome time after.

His majeſty being diſpleaſed with the conduct of Mahummud Azim Shaw, who had been ſent to Ahmednuggur, he was ordered to the preſence with Dilleer Khan; but he delayed his departure, and did not move to court until after repeated commands; upon which Dilleer Khan incurred the royal diſpleaſure. On the way, a furious elephant broke through the ranks, and ran towards the prince's palanquin, but was luckily put to death without hurting his perſon. The prince Shaw Aulum was ordered with an army into Kokun, to reduce the Mharatta fortreſſes on the ſea coaſt. A plague, which had ſeldom happened either in Dekkan or Khandeſhe, occurred this year in both countries, and carried off ſuch numbers, that many large towns were depopulated.

A. H. 1097. A. D. 1685. The prince Mahummud Moiz ad Dien attended his father, Shaw Aulum, to Kokun, which he entered by the way of Ramdirrah; but the country in that part being but thinly cultivated, ſupplies of proviſions ſoon grew ſhort, upon which the prince moved to the ſea coaſt, and the emperor iſſued orders for proviſions to be conveyed by ſhipping to Dunda Rajapore, near Bombay, but they could not bring ſufficient, and famine prevailing in the prince's camp, numbers died through mere want of food. Khan Jehaun moved from the tank of Kamſeaneh to Buggulkote, where he halted for ſome time, and then went againſt the fort of Mulluknehur, of little ſtrength, which he carried by ſtorm in two days. Himmut Khan and Raja Jeſſwunt Sing Bondela headed the aſſault. Khan Jehaun at the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, having cantoned his army at Bukkrum Bullee, twelve coſs from Zuffirabad, went himſelf to reſide at Koolburga. Juggut Sing, ſon of Mukkund Sing Harrah, an ameer of two thouſand, died, and, as he had no ſon, his country was given to his uncle's ſon Kiſhoor Sing. Shaub ad Dien Khan and Raow Dulput Sing, having entered Kokun, had an action with Sambah at Nizampore, and having defeated him, plundered the place of his reſidence; in reward for which ſervice, the emperor conferred on the former the title of Ghazi ad Dien Khan Bahadur, and promoted the latter to the munſub of one thouſand, calling them to his preſence; after which he detached them againſt the fort of Joneer.

Dilleer Khan Afghaun, an ameer of five thouſand, who had won the prize of military fame and conduct from all the cotemporary nobles, and fully underſtood the modes and policy of Dekkan, where in his operations he was generally victorious; upon ſeeing new amras preferred by the emperor over his head, and that what he repreſented out of duty was but little attended to, grew weary of the world, and died from vexation and diſappointment. In the time of his youth he had a remarkable appetite and ſtrength of body, and in his old age was bleſſed with good health. Upon his death the emperor confiſcated his fortune, which he ſuppoſed immenſe; but it not anſwering his expectations, he confined Peere Mahummud, his ſecretary, in order to inveſtigate the cauſe, who would not inform, though put to the torture. At length he was releaſed.

A.H. 1098.
A.D. 1686.

The prince Shaw Aulum had repreſented repeatedly to the emperor, that from the inclemency of the air in Kokun, a plague had broke out in his camp, which deſtroyed great numbers, and the diſtreſs for proviſions was exceſſive; upon which a freſh army, under Roh Oollah Khan, was diſpatched to eſcort the prince to court. Aurungzebe marched from Aurungabad with the grand camp to Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehaun, who had purſued a body of the enemy to Sangoulah, met Roh Oollah Khan on his march, and they accompanied each other as far as Ramdirrah. Khan Jehaun afterwards encamped, by the imperial commands, near the town of Annunderee, only ſeventeen coſs from Beejapore. The prince Shaw Aulum returned through the paſs of Ramdirrah in his way to court. Moſt of his cavalry had loſt their horſes, and the greateſt part of the army were on foot for want of conveyance, as the Mharattas, with the ſickneſs and famine, had made the greateſt havock among them. Khan Jehaun paid his reſpects, and, having ſupplied the prince with all neceſſaries, took his leave; then poſting

ing a detachment in charge of Annunderee, cantoned his army, according to orders from the emperor, at Almillah.

Several of the amras attendant on the court, on account of the waſte of their jaghires in the ſoubahs of Dekkan, now received ſalaries in lieu; and the great officers, who from the ſame cauſe alſo were become diſtreſſed, opened their hands to the receipt of bribes, notwithſtanding the poſitive injunctions of the emperor to the contrary; they alſo extorted money, under the pretence of fees for forwarding the views of expectants at court; ſo that the imperial ſervice now became but of little advantage, except to the civil officers of high rank, and their greedy deputies.

Serdar Khan, an Afghaun munſubdar, hired a number of banditti, and made a practice of ſending them to rob; but being ſoon detected, he was puniſhed with death, and his effects confiſcated.

A. D. 1099. A. D. 1687. Khan Jehaun having quited his cantonments at Almillah, encamped on the banks of the Beemrah, and detached Sippedar Khan and Dilleer Himmut towards Koolburga to puniſh the Pinderras; which having done, they returned. Orders arrived to ſtation Dilleer Himmut again near Koolburga, to prevent them from croſſing the Beemrah; but he died ſoon after his march, and was ſucceeded in command by Jaun Niſſaur Khan, ſon of Collinder Khan.

Orders were ſent to Khan Jehaun to march to Ruſſoolpore, and ſtop the communication with Beejapore on that quarter, while Roh Oollah Khan blocked it up on the ſide of Shawpore: but, prior to the arrival of theſe inſtructions, Roh Oollah Khan had encamped at Ruſſoolpore, and Khan Jehaun at Taktannah; ſo that they met together, and, upon the arrival of a farther order, the latter encamped at Shawpore.

As the emperor had determined to attack Hyderabad and Beejapore, he moved with the grand camp from Ahmednuggur to Sholapore, and appointed ſyed Zein-al-abid-Dien kelladaar of the former city. The enemy, ſuddenly collecting, attempted a ſurprize; but the ſyed, being timely adviſed, was on his guard, and defeated their enterprize. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, being recalled from Joneer, was ſent to protect Ahmednuggur, and Dulput Roy was now promoted to the rank of one thouſand three hundred.

Khan Jehaun was now ordered to Hyderabad, and Roh Oollah Khan to march for the ſiege of Beejapore, where the prince Shaw Azim was alſo ſent with a powerful army. The king of Hyderabad hearing of Khan Jehaun's approach, ſent Mahummud Ibrahim, the chief of his nobility, to oppoſe him with ſeventy thouſand horſe. Skirmiſhes occurred between them for many days; but as Khan Jehaun had but a ſmall force compared with the enemy's, he durſt not hazard a general engagement; therefore, having thrown up entrenchments round his camp, he communicated his ſituation to the emperor. The prince Shaw Aulum was diſpatched with a reinforcement to his aſſiſtance, and orders given for Beheramund Khan and Eaticaud Khan to attend him part of the way. The prince having reached Mulkneher, put his baggage under charge of Jaun Niſſaur Khan, and marched with his troops in order of battle towards the entrenchments of Khan Jehaun. The Hyderabadeans made a charge in different quarters, but in vain; and in the evening the prince joined the camp, where it had rained ſo hard, that it was impoſſible to pitch the great tents; and the prince, with his wives, was obliged to put up with a very ſmall one. Khan Jehaun, who was ſituated conveniently, ſent dreſſed proviſions for his family and all the amras who attended him. After three days, the prince and Khan Jehaun advanced; and, as is the cuſtom with the Dekkan troops, the Hyderabad army made falſe attacks on all ſides of the line. This continued for four days, after which Beheramund Khan and Eaticaud Khan returned to the preſence. Orders arrrived that the treaſury officers of Khan Jehaun's army ſhould alſo act as ſuch to the prince. Eeruch Khan, an ameer of two thouſand five hundred, an excellent officer, of great experience, was much in the eſteem of Khan Jehaun, who always placed him near his own perſon in the field. During this march, Eeruch Khan's elephant, frightened at the noiſe of a rocket, ran away. The driver uſed every endeavour to turn him, but in vain; ſo that the khan was taken priſoner, but died ſhortly after. He was much regretted by his followers, who were all treated by him as brethren. The khan was generous, not only to his friends, but to all, being ever ready to ſerve a petitioner; ſo that his good name was univerſal. He excelled moſt of the greater amras in the elegant ſtile of his living, and entertained ſervants of the firſt abilities, to whom he allowed high pay. His table was always richly and plentifully provided; and whenever either acquaintance or travellers paſſed near his reſidence, he furniſhed them amply with all neceſſaries, treating all with that attention due to their quality. If a merchant came to him from Perſia, or any other diſtant part, he generally kept him with him ſome days, bought his whole cargo, and diſmiſſed him with many favours. His mind was truly noble, and he died univerſally lamented. Himmut Khan Bahadur, Raja Jeſſwunt Sing Bondela, with the commander of artillery, Aga Ali Khan Roomee, making a charge upon a large body of the enemy, who were croſſing a long ſwamp of rice fields, two of their principal officers were taken priſoners by the raja's followers. The ſame day, Mahummud Ibrahim, who commanded the Hyderabad army, fled unexpectedly to the city; and from that day the enemy's forces diſappeared altogether, and the royal army purſued their route cloſe to Hyderabad by repeated marches. The Dekkanees accuſed Mahummud Ibrahim of treachery, exclaiming, that if he had done his duty, the imperial troops could never have advanced.

The king, not thinking it ſafe to remain longer in the city, ſhut himſelf up in the fort of Golconda, though Madna Pundit, his prime miniſter, earneſtly entreated him to the contrary; obſerving, that it would be better to retire to Warunkul, or ſome other fort, from whence he might with eaſe ſuccour Golconda, in caſe the imperial troops ſhould ſit down before it; whereas he would, by ſhutting himſelf up in it, be totally cut off from reſources. Abou Houſſin would not liſten to this reaſonable advice, and thus cloſed upon himſelf the gates of adverſity.

Mahummud Ibrahim, the general, conſulting his own intereſts, came over to Khan Jehaun, and was introduced by him to the prince, who received him graciouſly, and recommended him for promotion in the imperial ſervice. Akka Ali was ſent to guard the city of Hyderabad, and aſſure the inhabitants of protection; but moſt of thoſe who were able to procure conveyance for their families and effects, had retired into the fort of Golconda, while the remainder ſtayed terrified in their houſes, expecting their fate. The next day the prince ſent his own followers to guard the city, but they extended their hands to plunder. The houſe of Madna Pundit, the miniſter, was robbed of goods beyond all account, and ſtripped even to the frames of the doors and windows. So many new tents were found in it, that, immediately after, an old one was not to be ſeen in the prince's camp. The king's palace was alſo plundered in a great degree; but, after two days, the charge was given to Khan Jehaun, who reſtored order, and collected ſome property for the emperor's account; but if all the plunder had been thus taken care of, it would have amounted to an immenſe value. Though the emperor repeatedly wrote, that when he had plundered this city, before his acceſſion to the throne, large ſums were found in the ceilings of apartments, and inſiſted on all being preſerved for his uſe with the utmoſt rigour, yet no one regarded the imperial order, and many of the firſt houſes were plundered by the troops.

Mahummud Ibrahim being one of the creatures of Madna Pundit, that miniſter was ſuſpected of having perſuaded him to go over to the imperial army, and of intending to follow himſelf. It was ſaid that the reaſon of his adviſing the king not to take refuge in Golconda, was, that he might have an opportunity of betraying him into the emperor's hands. Abou Houſſun had, on appointing Madna Pundit prime miniſter, taken a ſolemn oath, that he would not attend to what any perſons might ſay againſt him, and therefore he did not liſten to theſe inſinuations: but the officers, who hated Madna, at the inſtigation of the king's mother in law, widow of the late ſultan, aſſaſſinated him as he was going into the king's preſence, and cutting off his head ſent it to the prince Shaw Aulum, with a meſſage, importing, that it had belonged to him, to whom only, all the inſolence and diſrepect ſhewn to the emperor was owing, for which he had at laſt met his deſerts.

Abou Houſſun, who had committed to Mad[illegible] all his power, and contented himſelf with the pageantry of roy[illegible], being by his death left without an adviſer on whom he could rely, immediately made requeſts for peace, and promiſes of a very valuable offering.

The prince Shaw Aulum now moved his quarters into an extenſive garden near the fort, where Abou Houſſun had built a ſplendid palace, in which the prince took up his own reſidence. When the news of the fall of Hyderabad reached the emperor, as a mark of his favour he ſent jewels, elephants, horſes and dreſſes for Shaw Aulum and the amras, under the care of Abd al Kerreem, keeper of the oratory, and other chiefs; who upon their arrival at Momin Putteah, not far from the city, were ſurprized, plundered, and taken priſoners, by ſhekh Munnaje and the Afghauns in the ſervice of Abou Houſſun, not a man eſcaping without a wound. The prince Shaw Aulum upon this diſaſter, ſent a meſſage to Abou Houſſun, threatening to ſtop the negotiations for peace, and take ample vengeance for ſuch atrocious inſults and breach of the truce.

Abou Houſſun made numberleſs excuſes, declared that the attack was not made by his orders, and that he had not the ſmalleſt knowledge of it. He collected the plundered effects with much care, and ſent them with the wounded priſoners to the prince, promiſing, if he would grant him peace, to make an offering of [*] two corores of rupees in treaſure and effects, which he would collect and pay, whenever the prince ſhould move from the city to Koehr.

Shaw Aulum forwarded his petition to court, and it meeting with the emperor's approbation, Momin Khan was left to receive the money, and the prince retreated. Aurungzebe was diſpleaſed at the great force his ſon and Khan Jehaun kept about their perſons, and the plunder of the city and the king's palace not being accounted for in the royal treaſury. Calling Khan Jehaun to the preſence, he ſent him to the government of Lahore, and diſpatched Syef Oollah Khan to order Kullich Khan, ſuddur al ſuddoor, Himmut Khan, Mamoor Khan, and ſeveral other amras, to quit the prince immediately, and return to court. Ibrahim Khan, the Hyderabad general, was promoted to the title of Mahabut Khan and rank of ſix thouſand. The prince was ordered to remain at Koehr, till the ſums ſhould be paid agreeably to the treaty of peace with Abou Houſſun.

The army againſt Beejapore under the prince Azim Shaw had repeated actions with the enemy. Amaun Oollah Khan, ſon of Aliverdi Khan, and other Dekkan amras, were killed, and Kiſhoor Sing Harrah and others wounded. The communication between this army and the imperial camp at Sholapore being cut off by the enemy's horſe, an extreme ſcarcity of grain prevailed; ſo that a [a] ſeer of rice ſold for eleven rupees, and at even this exorbitant price was procured with the greateſt difficulty. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, with Dulput Roy Bondela and others, were diſpatched from Ahmednuggur to eſcort proviſions, ſtores, and a large ſum of money to the prince. About five coſs from camp they were attacked by the enemy's army. The khan taking charge of the convoy, Dulput Roy, Mujahid Khan, and other chiefs, received the enemy, and, after a ſevere engagement, defeated them, killing about four thouſand foot who could not eſcape the fury of the enraged Moguls and Raajepootes. The convoy arrived ſafely at the camp before Beejapore, and proviſions again began to be cheap. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was honoured with the additional title of Feroſe Jung, and Dulput Roy with that of raow, and the privilege of carrying the [b] allum in his train.

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[*] Two millions ſterling.

A. H. 1100. A. D. 1688. The emperor this year, at a fortunate inſtant, departed with the grand camp from Sholapore to the ſiege of Beejapore, and batteries were opened immediately upon his arrival before the place. The prince Akber, who had taken refuge with Sambah, by his inſtigation, ſuppoſing the imperial territories undefended by many troops, with Darruk Daſs and about ten thouſand Mharattas made an incurſion from Kokun towards Hindooſtan; but the emperor, having advice of his intentions, had left Merhummut Khan at Ahmednuggur, who intercepted the rebel prince in the neighbourhood of Chakneh, and defeated him, after a very obſtinate engagement; which put an end to his enterprize, and he retreated again to Sambah's country. Syed Leſhkar Khan and other amras were left at Sholapore, to guard the heavy baggage of the army and furniſh eſcorts for proviſions to the imperial camp. Eadicaud Khan, ſon of Jumlat al Moolk Aſſud Khan, was detached with a force to obſerve the enemy's motions. Beejapore was now ſurrounded on all ſides, and the different ſtations allotted to the amras. Syed Fatteh Ali Khan, reconnoitring too near the ditch, received the honour of martyrdom, and many of his followers were wounded. Many ſkirmiſhes occurred on the foraging parties, and the beſieged daily made ſallies from the town. Raow Dulput was wounded in one by an arrow. Syed Leſhkar Khan was recalled from Sholapore, and the command given to Eaticaud Khan.

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[a] About two pounds.
[b] A ſort of pike.

A.H. 1101.
A.D. 1689.

Khafi Kh
puts date
in Zeekad
1097
1686
earlier
[illegible]

The ſiege of Beejapore ſtill continued, and the beſieged to oppoſe the approaches with great gallantry. The grand powder magazine, which was placed under ground in the camp, by ſome accident blew up with a dreadful exploſion, which was heard for ſixty miles. As the country round Beejapore had been long laid waſte and uncultivated, ſupplies were cut off from the fort, and the beſieged at length became exceedingly diſtreſſed for proviſions. Every chance of ſuccour was loſt, and the ſoldiers became diſatisfied; but ſtill, in this hopeleſs condition, they gallantly reſiſted. At length, ſeveral breaches being effected, the diſpoſition of aſſault was made by Kouwaum ad Dien Khan, commander of the imperial artillery. The beſieged, upon this, judged it ſafeſt to capitulate, and requeſted terms through Ghazi ad Dien Khan Feroſe Jung; when it was ſettled, that the young king Secunder ſhould pay his reſpects to the emperor, and his principal officers be exalted to munſubs. Feroſe Jung ſent Dulput Raow with a few followers into the fort to bring Secunder to his quarters, when he conducted him himſelf to the preſence of Aurungzebe, by whom, after paying his compliments, he was allowed to ſit. The emperor honoured him with the title of khan, beſtowed upon him many favours, and allotted tents for his accommodation in the Ruggela Bar. Sheerza Khan was raiſed to the title of Ruſtum Khan, Abd al Raooff to that of Dilleer Khan, and both to munſubs of ſeven thouſand. Seedees Salim and Jumſheed were honoured with titles and the munſub of five thouſand, and all the officers promoted according to their quality.

Aurungzebe paſſed to view the fort, through the breach by which the aſſault was intended to have been made, ſitting on a travelling throne, and to the great moſque, where he offered up thankſgivings for his ſucceſs. Syed Leſhkar Khan was appointed governor of the citadel. Upon an aſtoniſhingly large piece of ordnance was engraved this inſcription; "The prince Mahummud Ghazi, in ſplendour like the ſun, under whoſe umbrella the world ſought a ſhelter, by the force of his all-deſtroying ſabre, in half the winking of an eye, took the [*] maſter of the field from Nizam Shaw." This cannon, moſt probably the largeſt ever known, was made by Roomi Khan, an officer of one of the Nizam Shaws, and fell into the hands of ſultan Mahummud Beejaporee. The emperor ordered this inſcription to be eraſed, and the following to be put in the ſtead: "Shaw Aulumgeer Ghazi, emperor of kings, who reſtored juſtice and conquered the ſovereigns of Dekkan, reduced Beejapore. Good fortune on him daily ſmiled, and victory exclaimed, He hath ſubdued the maſter of the field." In this inſcription is conveyed the date in which the fort ſurrendered. The city and environs of Beejapore are upon a fine plain without any declivities; the fort probably the largeſt in the world; and, between it and the city wall, convenient room for fifteen thouſand horſe to encamp. Within the citadel was the king's palace, the houſes of the nobility, and large magazines, beſides many extenſive gardens; and round the whole a deep ditch, always well ſupplied with water. There were alſo without the city very large ſuburbs and noble palaces. Sultan Mhamood kept on foot one hundred and eighty thouſand horſe; and in the time of Ali Adil Shaw, when the Mirza Raja lay before Beejapore, that ſultan had not leſs than eighty thouſand. On the emperor's taking it, there were not more than two thouſand horſe within it. After this victory, the waters of the reſervoirs and the wells in the fort decreaſed; the country round remained entirely waſte for a great diſtance, and a conſiderable part of the reſt was ſeized by the pinderrahs and zemindars, who acknowledged no ſuperior. About a coſs from the city ſtood once another vaſt town, which might be called a ſecond Beejapore, named Noruſs, and built by Iſmaeel and Ibrahim Adil Shaw; but it was now quite depopulated, and ruined palaces only remaining, with a thick wall ſurrounding it, whoſe ſtately gateways were falling to decay.

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[*] The name of the cannon.

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Caſim Khan was appointed fojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan with other amras ſent to reduce the country round Hyderabad.

The prince Akber, finding nothing more to expect from Sambah, took his departure on board a ſhip, with a few attendants, for Perſia, and Darruk Daſs returned to his own country of Marwar. Ruſtum Khan Beejaporee, who had been promoted to the rank of ſeven thouſand, was detached towards the fort of Sittarra againſt the Mharattas, who attacked, defeated, and took him priſoner, but releaſed him on his paying a very large ſum of money.

A. H. 1102.
A. D. 1690.

Ghazi ad Dien Khan, and the amras under him, having entered the Hyderabad territories, laid waſte all parts of it; and the emperor marching from Sholapore with intentions to beſiege Golconda, on the way viſited the forts of Tuldoorg and Koolburga, alſo the tomb of ſyed Mahummud Geſoo-derauz. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was detached to Goolſhunabad to puniſh the Mharattas; and the emperor, having moved by the route of Zuffirabad Bieder, at length ſat down before Golconda, and the ſiege was commenced. As Abou Houſſun had eſcaped into the fort, Mahummud Moraud Khan, the reſident at Hyderabad, incurred the royal diſpleaſure for having allowed him to do ſo, and was degraded from his munſub; but reſtored ſhortly after, at the interceſſion of Aſſud Khan. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was recalled to the preſence. Shekh Nizam Hyderabadee collected an army to relieve the fort, and Raow Dulput being ſent againſt him, gave him a complete defeat. Orders were iſſued to attack a camp of the beſieged which had taken ſhelter cloſe to the ditch. This ſervice was performed by Mujahid Khan, Kiſhoor Sing Harrah, Raow Dulput, and others, who plundered it. Kullich Khan, ſuddur al ſuddoor, going too cloſe to the fort, was killed by a cannon ſhot. Skirmiſhes happened every day with the enemy, and it rained ſo continually, that the roads were rendered impaſſable; and grain became ſo ſcarce in the camp, that many of the followers died of hunger.

The emperor, from the repreſentations of the ſpies about his perſon, entertaining ſuſpicions of the loyalty of the prince Shaw Aulum, privately gave orders for a body of armed men to be drawn up in the grand audience tent; and ſending for the prince with his ſons, commanded Aſſud Khan to diſarm and confine them. They were degraded from their ranks in the army, their effects ſeized, and treated with the ſame rigour as common criminals. An aſſault was made upon the fort by Ghazi ad Dien Khan, and his majeſty went in perſon to the batteries to encourage the aſſailants; but they did not ſucceed, the enemy repulſing them with great gallantry.

At length, after a ſiege of ſeven months, Golconda fell by treachery. Abdoolla, a principal chief and favourite of Abou Houſſun, who had been moſt active in the defence of the place, being gained over by bribes and aſſurances of high rank in the imperial ſervice, admitted in the night a body of the Mogul troops, under the command of Roh Oollah Khan, into the fortreſs. The garriſon, except a few who were ſoon overcome, laid down their arms; and the ſultan Abou Houſſun was eſcorted by the prince Azim Shaw to the emperor's tent. The date of this occurrence is included in the following lines: "Hyderabad was conquered by Aulumgeer, under "the auſpices of the Almighty, fighting for the true faith. He "had the power of Jumſheed, and the wiſdom of Alexander. His "valiant heroes, with pious zeal, tore up infidelity and wickedneſs "by the roots in Dekkan." Hyderabad was now named The Manſion of Zeal. Caſim Khan was ordered to take charge of this part of Carnatic, until a fojedaur ſhould be appointed. The Carnatics, now divided between Hyderabad and Beejapore, were formerly ſubject to the dynaſty of Ramraaje Carnaticæ, once of great power and dominion, whoſe capital was Beejanuggur, ſituated fifty coſs from the fortreſs of Adonee, and one hundred and ſeventy from Bieder; from which their dominions extended to the ſea coaſt one way, on another to the river Kiſtnah, and ſome parts to the river Beemrah. They kept an army of thirty thouſand horſe, a million of infantry, and their wealth was beyond enumeration. The laſt Ramraaje attempting to conquer the territories of Adil Shaw Beejaporee, Koottub Shaw Hyderabadee, and Nizam Shaw Dowlutabadee, the three ſultans formed an alliance for their mutual ſecurity, and, having joined their forces, marched to the banks of the Kiſtnah, on the oppoſite ſide of which Ramraaje was encamped with an innumerable hoſt. The allies croſſed the river and attacked him. Adil Shaw was panic-ſtruck, but his nobility and troops ſtood firm, and continued with their allies to charge the enemy. Ramraaje, priding himſelf on his vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, had pitched a magnificent canopy, under which he ſat upon a throne ſhining with jewels, to give orders to his troops; but when the army of the ſultans broke in upon his line, he removed into a palanquin, the bearers of which, being much frightened, threw it down, and he was ſeized by Nizam Shaw's people, and brought priſoner to their ſultan; who cut off his head and fixed it on the point of his ſpear. The enemy, upon ſeeing it, took to flight, and an immenſe treaſure of money, jewels and effects, with two thouſand elephants, fell into the hands of the victorious allies, who purſued the fugitives with great ſlaughter to the walls of Beejanuggur; from whence, after receiving a valuable contribution from the late raja's brother, they retreated, leaving him in poſſeſſion of the government.

The imperial firmaun was ſent to Mohib Ali, Abou Houſſun's governor of Carnatic, who had been honoured with the title of Uſker Khan and munſub of ſeven thouſand, to prevent the people of the diſtricts from diſperſing; and a force was alſo appointed for their defence from the preſence. Iſmaeel, Ajeet Naire, and other Dekkan officers, with the zemindars, had plundered him, but diſperſed on the arrival of Mukkerum Khan with the royal troops. Bam Naick, governor of Sunker, dependant upon Beejapore, having made his ſubmiſſions to the emperor, delivered up the place; which was new named Nuſſerut Ghur. Raja Anoop Sing was honoured with the command, and the rank of five thouſand, but died ſhortly after. Bam Naick and his ſon were promoted to the rank of three thouſand; but they in a little time fled to Wakin Kerah, their native place, ſix coſs from Nuſſerut Ghur, and raiſed diſturbances. Mahummud Azim Shaw coming from Goolſhunabad, paid his compliments at court. Shekh Nizam Hyderabadee ſubmitting, was honoured with the title of Khan Zummaun and munſub of five thouſand. Meer Houſſeinee, a principal officer of Abou Houſſun, being raiſed to the rank of ſix thouſand and title of Ali Merdan Khan, was appointed to the fojedaury of Kinjee, dependant on Hyderabad Carnatic; and more nobles were created than had ever been in the reign of any former emperor. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was ſent with a large army to beſiege the fort of Adonee, and Raow Dulput who accompanied him, was promoted to the rank of two thouſand one hundred. The khan upon his march took ſeveral forts belonging to Beejapore, and one of them, Heybut Kerrumna, was named Feroſe Ghur. The fort of Kernole was called Kummernuggur. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was ſent againſt Mullukgaum, belonging to Beejapore, which he took.

Balgaum

Jeſſwunt Sing Bondela dying, the zemindary of Oorcha was conferred on Bugwunt Sing, his ſon, an infant of four years, with the title of raja. At this time an epidemical ague raged over all Dekkan, of which numbers died; as alſo a great ſcarcity of grain. Ghazi ad Dien Khan having for ſome time blocked up the fort of Adonee, Seedee Muſaood delivered it up; and with his family going to the preſence, was honoured with the title of khan and munſub of ſeven thouſand. The emperor now moved from Hyderabad by the way of Koolburga to Beejapore. Khan Zummaun was appointed to the fojedaury of Kolapore, in the neighbourhood of Pernalleh. A peſtilence broke out in the camp of Beejapore, raging to a great pitch, and many of the ladies of the haram died; upon which the emperor moved to Bahadur Ghur.

The ſpies of Khan Zummaun brought him intelligence, that Sambah was encamped near the fort of Kalneh, belonging to him, about fifteen coſs from Pernalleh, in the paſſes to Kokun, entirely off his guard, immerſed in debauchery and hard drinking. The khan marched immediately, and about daylight next morning ſurprized his camp. Sambah, intending to move, had ſent off the greateſt part of his attendants with his women on before him, and was waiting for Kubkulluſs, his favourite, who was performing his devotions, when they were both taken priſoners. Khan Zummaun immediately informed the emperor of his ſucceſs, who beat the march of victory, and diſpatched Eaticaud Khan with a conſiderable army to beſiege the fort of Rairee, which had been the capital of Sewajee and his ſucceſſor.

Ghazi ad Dien Khan after the ſurrender of the fort of Adonee, came to encamp near Beejapore, where he was afflicted with the plague; from which he recovered, but with the total loſs of eyeſight. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was diſpatched to Lolukkowah, dependant on Joneer in Kokun, and the emperor moved to Tummerla, fourteen coſs from Porundeh, with the grand camp.

A. H. 1103. A. D. 1691. The emperor moved to Bahadur Ghur, and Khan Zummaun having brought Sambah to court, orders were given to put wooden crowns upon the heads of him and his companions, and, mounting them upon camels, after the manner of criminals in Perſia, to conduct them to the preſence. The emperor gave thanks to God for having thus put his enemy in his power, and raiſed Khan Zummaun to a higher rank, with the title of Fatteh Jung. Sambah had a red hot iron drawn before his eyes; and ſome days after was, with his favourite Kubkulluſs, put to death. The emperor marched from Bahadur Ghur to Buggoreh Gaum, ſix coſs from Poonah on the banks of the Beemrah.

Eaticaud Khan fought many ſucceſsful battles in Kokun, and blocked up Rairee, ſo as to diſtreſs the inhabitants greatly. Sewajee's ſecond ſon, Rama, after the capture of Sambah, fled with ſome principal chiefs to Seringapatam, and ſyed Abdoolla Khan Bareah was ordered to purſue him; but Rama, near a ſmall fort, croſſed the river, then very high, with two of his followers, and got clear off. About eighty chiefs took ſhelter in the fort, and falling into the khan's hands, he was ordered to keep them confined at Beejapore. Rama ſhut himſelf up in the fort of Jinjee. Wojeh ad Dien, the ſon of Syed Leſhkar Khan, who commanded as his father's deputy in Beejapore, not attending ſtrictly to his priſoners, they made their eſcape, by the connivance of his ſervants, and rejoining their brethren, ſoon raiſed diſturbances. A few, who in leaping from the walls had broken their limbs, were retaken under the priſon, and ſecured.

Roh Oollah Khan, agreeably to the royal inſtructions, moved to Pernalleh, with an offer of terms to the inhabitants, but they would not deliver up the place; upon which he returned, and marched to puniſh the Mharattas round Khamutpore, and the fort of Sittarra, in the country on the banks of the Kiſtnah, which is within the Beejapore boundaries. Orders were ſent him to leave the army with Khan Zummaun, who had been diſpatched to command it, and return to the preſence.

Eaticaud Khan having taken Rairee, and Saooh, the infant ſon of Sambah, with his wives and thoſe of Rama, was exalted by the title of Zoolfeccar Khan and the privilege of uſing the *mach meratib, which he had taken belonging to Sambah. The infant Saooh was honoured with the title of raja, and a place within the Ruggelah Bar allotted for his reſidence. About this time preparations were made for ſending off the heavy baggage to Aurungabad, and it was reported that the emperor would return to Agra or Dhely; but news arriving, that a Pinder chief, named Eeiuck, having collected together a numerous rabble, had taken Feroſenuggur, Roh Oollah Khan was detached to that quarter, and all thoughts of moving to Aurungabad were laid aſide. The khan marched with all ſpeed, and Raow Dulput, who was then kelladaar of Adonee, hearing of the diſturbance, ſent Hafiz Morad Khan, a principal officer of his own, with a conſiderable force, who defeated the rebels; but, as he had no neceſſaries for a ſiege, he encamped at a little diſtance from the fort, where he was joined with a reinforcement and ſome cannon, under Summunder Khan, governor of Koolburga. Roh Oollah Khan commenced the ſiege immediately on his arrival.

Raja

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* A ſtandard, on the point of which is a gilt fiſh.

Raja Bugwunt Sing Bondela dying, there remained no one of the family of rajas Shujan Sing or Inder Sing to ſucceed him; upon which the rannee Amir Koor, grandmother to the deceaſed prince, placed in the raaje Oodut Sing, who was deſcended from Mudhoker Saw, father to Raja Ber Sing Deo, which was approved of by the emperor, who conferred on him the title of raja, and a ſuitable munſub.

When the emperor heard of Rama's being arrived at Jinjee, he immediately diſpatched Zoolfeccar Khan to beſiege that place. Roh Oollah Khan, having by ſtratagem forced Eeluck to leave Feroſenuggur, took poſſeſſion of the place, and then purſued him to a great diſtance. Upon his flying near Hyderabad, he was ſeized by the fojedaur, and put to death.

Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived at Korumcundah, ſixty coſs from Jinjee, was attacked by a large army of the Mharattas, under Iſmaeel Mukh, Ajeet Naire, and other zemindars; and though he had but a ſmall force compared to the enemy's, yet relying on the imperial auſpices, he engaged, and giving them a complete overthrow, marched on towards Jinjee in triumph, taking ſeveral forts belonging to the enemy on the way.

A.H. 1105. A.D. 1693. The emperor encamped at Kulkulla, ſixteen coſs from Koree Gaum, and diſpatched Jumlat al Moolk to the aſſiſtance of Zoolfeccar Khan, who was ſurrounded by the Mharattas near Jinjee. Several of the new Dekkan amras had deſerted from him to Rama, and the ſcarcity of proviſions in his camp was grown to the moſt alarming pitch. Syed Leſhkar Khan, upon this intelligence, was ordered with treaſure from the preſence and a large ſupply of proviſions to join Jumlat al Moolk Aſſud Khan, upon whoſe arrival the army experienced ſome relief. Zoolfeccar having given the charge of his camp to Alimerdan Khan, fojedaur of Kinjee, marched ſixty coſs into the territories of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, from the zemindars of which he collected conſiderable contributions, and then returned, after gaining ſeveral advantages over the Mharattas.

Khan Jehaun Bahadur being called from Hindooſtan, was graciouſly received by the emperor, with whom he interceded for the Mharatta chiefs, who had ſent their vaqueels to him deſiring his mediation, and to be allowed to make their ſubmiſſions; upon which he was empowered to give them aſſurances under his own ſeal, and ſent his ſon Himmut Khan Bahadur to bring Suntah Ghorera, Dhunnah Jaddo, and others, to the preſence, but they would not conſent to this, being fearful of treachery. Himmut Khan returned without effecting any thing, much to the vexation of his father, who felt himſelf diſgraced by being unable to fulfil his promiſe to the emperor.

Iſmaeel Mukh, commander of the Dekkanees in Carnatic Hyderabad, having made his ſubmiſſions to Zoolfeccar Khan, whom he joined with his relations and followers, was at his requeſt honoured with the rank of five thouſand and the title of khan, and proportionate rewards were beſtowed on the reſt. Ajeet Naire joined Rama in the fort of Jinjee.

A. H. 1104.
A. D. 1692.

Raow Dulput having reſigned the government of the fort of Adonee, named by Aurungzebe, Imteauz Ghur, was ſent with his followers as far as Sholapore to eſcort the prince Bedar Bukht, eldeſt ſon of Azim Shaw, who was on his return from the ſiege of Sinſinnee, in the Jaut country, near Agra. Being arrived at Bhome, he heard that the Mharattas had blocked up the road, having plundered Maleegaum, and put many of the inhabitants and travellers to death; upon which he ſecured his baggage in a fort, and marched in purſuit. Mamoor Khan, ſon of Dilleer Khan, joined him on the route, and they came up with the enemy near Tuljapore. The Mharattas were full twelve thouſand, and Dulput Roy's force not more than eight hundred; but he had ſome artillery, with which he made great ſlaughter among the enemy, who fled on the fall of ſome of their chiefs. A detachment from the preſence being ſent to watch them, Raow Dulput marched to Sholapore and met the prince, whom he conducted to the emperor. He was now ordered to eſcort the Perſian ambaſſador from the imperial camp to Aurungabad; which having done, he returned, and was joined by a vaſt number of all ranks, who had been waiting at that city for an eſcort to the grand army. Being arrived near Dewaree, intelligence was brought him, that a large body of the enemy was approaching with the hopes of plunder; upon which he left his convoy in a place of ſecurity, and advancing with the troops, forced the enemy to engage, and gave them a total defeat, taking priſoner the chief, Lukko Sindia, with ſeveral other perſons of rank. A valuable plunder fell into his hands. For this ſervice, the emperor was pleaſed to reſtore the five hundred to his munſub, which he had taken off on his reſigning the kelladaree of Adonee. The Mharattas were now become ſo impreſſed by his gallantry, that they ever after fled on hearing of his approach. He was next commanded to eſcort a ſupply of treaſure, arrived at Aurungabad from the inner provinces, which he ſucceſsfully performed. This year the emperor ordered a magnificent palace to be erected near Aurungabad, on the banks of the great reſervoir.

A. H. 1106.
A. D. 1694.

Raow Dulput having brought the treaſure from Aurungabad, notwithſtanding the hourly intelligence of the ſuperiority of the enemy, arrived ſafely at Sholapore. Agreeably to the imperial orders, he gave a muſter of nine hundred excellent horſe above his compliment, whom he had called from his own jaghire to attend him; but though they did not meet with encouragement from his majeſty, yet regarding his own reputation on the frequent ſervices upon which he was ordered, he choſe to be at the additional expenſe of maintaining them out of his private revenue.

Beheramund Khan at Porundeh, hearing that the Mharattas had marched towards Toomree, left his baggage at the former place, and moved by forced marches to purſue them; but meeting with Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who was detached on this ſervice, he returned to his camp.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhſh moving with a large army, to beſiege the fort of Wakin Kerah, was joined by Dulput Raow; and on their arrival before the place, after a very fatiguing march in the height of the rains, the ſiege was commenced. Skirmiſhes happened with the enemy's troops every day.

As the ſiege of Jinjee had lingered to a great length, many of the Mharatta manſubdars deſerted to Rama, and a vaſt army was advancing to relieve the place. Notwithſtanding Jumlat al Moolk was at Gurpah with a great force, orders were ſent to the prince, to leave Roh Oollah Khan for the ſiege of Wakin Kerah, to march himſelf with all ſpeed to Gurpah, and to diſpatch Raow Dulput with treaſure and five thouſand horſe from thence to Jinjee to aſſiſt Zoolfeccar Khan.

Roh Oollah Khan took command of the ſiege, and the prince marched for Jinjee by Kernole to Gurpah. Between Kernole and Nudeall, where the road runs cloſe under a range of mountains, were ſeen the inhabitants of them, a wild people, whoſe language is not in the leaſt underſtood by the people of the villages below. Their common food is honey, the roots of trees, plants, and the fleſh of animals caught in hunting. They are exceedingly black, with long hair on every part of their bodies, and on their heads wore caps made of the leaves of trees. Each man had with him

unbarbed

unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They moleſt no one, and live in caverns, or under the ſhady branches of trees. The prince preſented ſome of them with gold and ſilver, but they did not ſeem to put any value upon either, being quite unconcerned at receiving it. Upon the firing of a ſmall gun they darted up the mountains with a ſurprizing ſwiftneſs, uncommon to man.

On the prince's arrival at Gurpah, Aſſud Khan paid his reſpects, and joining him with his army, proceeded on to Suddom, which is ſixty coſs from Jinjee. From this place Raow Dulput was diſpatched with treaſure and a large ſupply of proviſions to Zoolfeccar Khan. Raow Gopal Sing Chanderout, Malojee Goherree, Seedee Salim Khan, and other chiefs, accompanied him. The route lay through a foreſt, which had been totally impervious, until it was a little cleared by the royal army having cut down many trees and removed them. Horſemen paſſed with much difficulty, but the loaded elephants and camels were reduced to the laſt diſtreſs. The underwood, which was thorny, was ſo twined together, as to make it impoſſible to paſs either on the right or left of the road. This tedious paſs extended for near forty coſs from Suddum to Kinjee. The laſt is one of the ſeven chief worſhipping places of the Hindoos, which are as follow; Ajodeah or Oude, Mutterah, Pyauge or Aleabad, Kaſee or Banaras, Kinjee, Ontkaporee, and Dowaroutee.

Theſe ſeven have a ſuperiority above all the other holy places of reſort. The environs of Kinjee cannot be leſs in extent than ten coſs. There are two temples, Seo Kinjee and Biſhen Kinjee, the walls round each of which are not leſs extenſive than the citadel of Beejapore, and within them are innumerable edifices, the coſt of which cannot be aſcertained by gueſs. Within the town are many ſplendid temples, and without, round about it, a great variety. The breadth of the town is trifling, being generally one ſtreet of ſhops, behind which are the houſes and gardens of the inhabitants.

There are every way a great variety of tanks, which are all lined with ſtone, and have ſteps deſcending the whole length of each ſide from top to bottom. Theſe are called in Hindoeh, Kund Gobind, collectively, but each has a ſeparate name and ſeaſon appointed for bathing in it. The court of Seo Kinjee has been formed into a citadel, with baſtions and battlements; and in a part of it reſides the fojedaur. Upon account of the frequent paſſage of troops, who commit great exceſſes, this was but thinly inhabited; but Biſhen Kinjee, which is larger, and the cuſtoms of it in the receipt of the fojedaur, as part of his ſalary, was populous and flouriſhing, being reſorted to by numerous pilgrims, who paid a toll for permiſſion to perform their devotions at the temples; ſo that a great ſum is annually collected. From near the fort of Adonee, to Kernole, Kinjee, Jinjee, and hence to the ſea coaſt, there is not a village without a temple, dedicated either to Luchmun, or the god Ram. Raow Dulput at length having arrived at Kinjee, took with him Alimerdan Khan, the fojedaur of that place, and moved to the fort of Bindwaſtnee, which is twelve coſs from Jinjee; then marching by Velore, a fort equal to Ahmednuggur, reached the neighbourhood of Jinjee. As Muttullub Khan, who came with Dulput Raow, had an imperial firmaun for Zoolfeccar Khan, that nobleman advanced to meet it ſome diſtance from his camp, the ſoldiers of which received new life from the treaſure and proviſions, having long been in extreme want. Zoolfeccar Khan having appointed Raow Dulput to the command of his right wing, he went to reconnoitre round the fort, and the enemy making a ſally, the raow detached a ſmall body, who cut many of them to pieces.

Roh Oollah Khan, who had returned to the imperial camp after being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Wakin Kerah, was taken dangerouſly ill; and ſeeing death approach, ſent this verſe to Aurungzebe: "The broken-hearted in the night of abſence, his "life haſtening to the cloſe: with what pangs muſt he die who

" cannot ſee thee!" The emperor repaired to his houſe without delay, and on his arrival being announced, the dying chief exclaimed in verſe, " With what ſatisfaction does the ſubject quit the " world, whoſe dying moments you cheer with your preſence!" He expired inſtantly after uttering this, and the emperor retired much affected at the loſs of ſo old and faithful a miniſter. The date of his death is included in the following verſes: " The navob, the " beams of whoſe bounty gladdened the world, when the blaſt of " death extinguiſhed the lamp of his life, the heavens wept, and, " mourning, ſaid, 'Life hath left the world.'' Sippedar Khan, the ſecond ſon of Khan Jehaun, was raiſed to the rank of three thouſand, with the government of the province of Aleabad.

A. H. 1107-8.
A. D. 1695-6.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhſh, with Jumlat al Moolk Aſſud Khan, being arrived in the vicinity of Jinjee, Zoolfeccar Khan and other amras went to pay their reſpects, and accompany his highneſs to the ſpot fixed for his encampment. The khan was himſelf ſtationed oppoſite the great gateway of the fort, and a rivulet ran through his lines. It was now judged proper to ſurround the place. The camp of the prince and Jumlat al Moolk was fixed toward the hill of Solungwerum, near the redoubt of Kiſhenghur, which joins to the fort, about a coſs and a half from Zoolfeccar Khan's poſt, and a trench thrown up round it. Iſmaeel Khan Mukh, with others, was poſted on the road of Carnaticghur behind the fort. Near Shytaundoeh, where was a port by which the beſieged had a communication with the woods, and procured ſupplies, Kaker Khan was ſtationed to prevent them.

As the enemy frequently at night diſturbed the prince's camp by throwing rockets, Zoolfeccar Khan poſted a body of his own troops as an outpoſt, when they ceaſed their inſolence. Six thouſand of the enemy made a ſally from the gate facing the baggage camp, and

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* A pun on his name, it ſignifying ſoul or life.

and were repulſed by Zoolfeccar Khan with Raow Dulput and other officers, who purſued them cloſe to the gate with great ſlaughter. The prince and Aſſud Khan moved nearer to Zoolfeccar Khan, and ſyed Leſhkar Khan took up their ground. The rains now ſet in with great fury; grain again became exceedingly ſcarce, and the conſtant duties of the ſiege beyond meaſure fatiguing to the troops. The enemy made a deſperate ſally from the fort on the poſt of Mahummud Momin, and drove away his troops; but, by the timely ſuccour of Dulput Raow, were again repulſed with great ſlaughter.

At the concluſion of the rains, Suntah, Dhunnah, and other chiefs, with fifteen thouſand horſe, advanced for the aſſiſtance of Rama to the relief of Jinjee; upon which, as there were not troops ſufficient to keep up the blockade and at the ſame time oppoſe the enemy in the field, it was reſolved, before their arrival, to recall ſeveral of the detached poſts to the main body. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to the different amras for this purpoſe, upon which ſyed Leſhkar Khan and Kaker Khan joined immediately, but Iſmaeel Khan Mukh, who was on the other face of the fort, made ſome delay, and his followers were employed in collecting their baggage when Dhunnah arrived. The khan upon this formed his people as well as he could, and moved towards the camp, but was attacked on the march by Dhunnah's army and a large body of the enemy from the fort, with whom he ſuſtained a running fight to the poſt of Kaker Khan, when night coming on the battle ceaſed, but with the loſs of great part of his men killed and taken priſoners. In the morning, the khan, with his remaining followers, purſuing his route over a paſs, was himſelf wounded and taken priſoner, but releaſed ſoon after, by the kindneſs of Ajeet Naire on account of former friendſhip.

All communication between the preſence and this army having been long ſtopped, various idle reports of the emperor's illneſs and even death prevailed. The prince, on account of the advance of the enemy from all quarters, thinking or feigning to believe ſuch tales, conſulted apart with his own ſervants, who imprudently gave him advice to make terms with the enemy, and, having confined Aſſud ad Dowlah and Zoolfeccar Khan, to act independantly. Having agreed with Rama, the prince reſolved to join him, and ſuddenly ordered out his followers and baggage for march; but Aſſud Khan being informed of this raſh meaſure, ſent immediate advice of it to Zoolfeccar Khan, alſo a meſſage to the prince, requeſting to know the cauſe of his preparing his troops in the night. To this an anſwer was ſent back, that he had received intelligence of the enemy's intending to make a night attack. Jumlat al Moolk replied, that the alarm was falſe, and deſired that the troops might retire to their tents, and only the uſual guards be poſted, as other preparations only ſerved to ſpread falſe alarms, and diſhearten the army.

The prince learning that Aſſud Khan was upon his guard, and had called together the imperial officers, thought proper to diſmiſs his troops, and defer the execution of his plan to another opportunity. Zoolfeccar Khan being informed by his father of the prince's conduct, collected all his officers, and remained under arms during the night. In the morning, after burſting as many of the cannon as could not be carried off from the batteries, he moved with all his troops to the grand camp. A body of the enemy from the fort, after much cautious reconnoitring, advanced to deſtroy the works, while another attacked the line on its march.

Zoolfeccar Khan having joined his father, a council was held, in which it was argued, that if the prince's plan ſhould take effect, the emperor would be very juſtly diſpleaſed, ſo that it would be moſt adviſeable to prevent it by putting the prince under confinement. This being agreed upon, Aſſud Khan, Zoolfeccar Khan, and other amras, paſſing by the audience tent, and from thence upon their elephants within the netting, threw down the ſkreens of the dewan khaneh. The prince's ſervants were alarmed, and the attendants of the mahal fired ſome muſquetry.

The prince, diſturbed at the intruſion, came running confuſedly from the ſquare of the women's apartments, when ſome foot ſoldiers belonging to Jellall Khan ſeizing his hands, brought him without his ſhoes before Jumlat al Moolk. Dulput Raow ſeeing him in this humiliating ſituation, immediately rode up, and placed him upon his elephant, ſeating himſelf behind in the khowaſſeh. Aſſud Khan now addreſſed the prince, telling him that the late rumours were falſe, as the emperor was in health; alſo, that he had acted in ſuch a manner as would not only diſgrace himſelf, but bring ſhame upon his grey hairs. The enemy by their ſeints kept the camp in conſtant alarm all this day. As it was not ſafe to leave the prince in his own tents, Aſſud Khan brought him to his, and having performed the cuſtomary compliments upon his alighting, ordered every thing neceſſary for his accommodation. Syed Leſhkar Khan was appointed to guard him, and the attendants of the mahal were placed ſeparately.

Intelligence arrived that Suntah was following Dhunnah, and had arrived at Cavereepauk, ten coſs from Kinjee, and that Alimerdan Khan Fojedaur had marched to oppoſe him, thinking himſelf ſuperior. Suntah had a very large force; and, in the action, a numerous body of Bhela foot, which the khan had hired, deſerted to the enemy, ſo that he was obliged to fly, and attempted to regain the poſt of Kinjee, but was taken priſoner with many of his officers, and all his elephants, camels, horſes, and baggage were plundered.

Suntah arrived ſhortly after this at Jinjee, and the enemy amounted now to twenty thouſand horſe, beſides the garriſon of the place. Of the imperial troops, great part were unavoidably employed in guarding the prince and the charge of the baggage. The prince's followers were diſguſted, and would not ſtir out of their lines; and Maun Sing Rhatoree, an ameer of two thouſand, with ſome others, feigning illneſs, ſkulked with the baggage. Zoolfeccar Khan, Dulput Raow, Serafrauz Khan, Fatteh Oollah Khan Tooranee, Raow Kanoo Mharatta, and ſome other chiefs, with about two thouſand horſe, engaged the enemy and repeatedly defeated them, ſo that they could make no impreſſion.

The ſcarcity of grain became now ſo great in the camp, as to be intolerable: upon which Zoolfeccar Khan with his brave friends marched to procure ſupplies at the fort of Bindwaſtnee, twelve coſs from Jinjee, and arrived during the night. The Tooran Moguls, under cover of the dark, plundered the corn merchants, and proper order was loſt by the impatience of the troops. In the morning, the khan collecting what was left, returned towards the camp. The enemy had collected at Deoee to oppoſe him, and attacked on all quarters. Raow Dulput on the flank repeatedly repulſed them, aſſiſted the front when hard preſſed, and often took charge of the rear. This night was paſſed near Jinjee, and in the morning the enemy in great force charged on all quarters, firing ſo quickly, that the grain merchants were thrown into confuſion. Their markſmen aimed chiefly at the amras' elephants, and many ſhot paſſed over Raow Dulput, who alſo uſed his matchlock, and wounded ſome of the enemy's officers. The bullocks with grain now ſunk into the mud in croſſing a ſwamp of rice fields, and even the horſe could move but with ſlowneſs and difficulty. The ammunition was alſo nearly expended. At this juncture, moſt of Raow Dulput's cavalry moved to the right, where was a ſound road, and thus became ſeparated from the infantry, ſo that not above eighty horſe remained round the raow's elephant. The enemy ſeeing this, detached a party of their foot to an eminence near, who fired ſo quick, that matters became deſperate. The raow had ſtopped to help the camels and bullocks out of the ſwamp, and during this the reſt of the troops had marched on. The raow, determined to ſell his life dearly, ſtood firmly, and ſhortly after was joined by Serafrauz Khan Dekkanee with five or ſix thouſand horſe, when he charged the enemy, and drove about twelve thouſand near half a mile; then halting till the bullocks were diſengaged from the ſwamp, he ſlowly followed the baggage. The firing now became leſs frequent, and being arrived at a brook, where ſome ſmall pieces of artillery were ſwamped, the khan fixed to them ſtrong ropes, which having put round the elephants, they drew them out. The enemy were appalled at ſuch gallantry, and went off towards Jinjee. Zoolfeccar Khan arrived at the camp about nightfall, and fully repreſented to Affud Khan the raow's behaviour, on which he conferred many praiſes.

The ſupply now brought was but ſmall, and the ſcarcity ſoon became again diſtreſſing. Some of the followers ventured to the enemy's camp with money, and were allowed to buy ſufficient for a meal, which they ate on the ſpot, but not to bring the ſmalleſt quantity away. The enemy from morning till night daily made attacks on the camp, in which was now neither proviſions, money, nor hopes of any ſpeedy ſuccour, ſo that affairs were reduced to the laſt pitch of diſtreſs. At this alarming criſis, Rama, contrary to the advice of all his chiefs, propoſed a truce, that the army ſhould move to Bindwaſtnee, when he would prepare a proper offering for his majeſty. Dulput Raow repeatedly adviſed Affud Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan againſt compliance, obſerving, that it could only be attended by diſgrace, and offering to advance thirty or forty thouſand rupees for the immediate uſe of the troops, it being ſafer at all events to wait a few days longer, and expect relief from the emperor, than make terms. On the other hand, all the ſoldiers, particularly the artillery, declared they would not remain another day, as they muſt inevitably die of hunger; ſo that Aſſud Khan was reduced to comply with their clamours, and make a truce.

Aſſud Khan with the prince moved at twelve o'clock the next day, but the horſes, camels, and other animals of the camp, were ſo weakened by famine, that they could not take away the baggage, great part of which was ſet fire to, and much left on the ground. The Mharatta ſoldiers came into the camp freely, and ſeeing great quantities of valuable baggage lying about, promiſed the owners that whatever they left behind ſhould be ſafely conveyed to them; but about a thouſand of them followed the army on the march, and plundered the ſtraggling followers. The exhauſted troops arrived in three days at Bindwaſtnee, and grain was procured. News now arrived that Caſim Khan was advanced as far as Cavereepauk with large ſupplies, and that Suntah had marched to attack him, but he took timely ſhelter in a fort with his convoy. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving the prince in the fort of Bindwaſtnee, marched to Caſim Khan's aſſiſtance, and brought the ſupplies in ſafety to his camp. The reports which had prevailed were now happily contradicted, and the troops inſpired with new confidence. As ſeveral zemindars had attacked and plundered former convoys on the road, Zoolfeccar Khan and Caſim Khan, having marched, collected conſiderable contributions from them. When the news of the ſiege of Jinjee being raiſed reached him, the emperor was greatly diſpleaſed, and ordered the prince and Aſſud Khan to his preſence. Great favours were conferred on the former, but much coolneſs ſhewn to the latter. This year a fortification was begun round Begumpore at Aurungabad, to protect it from the Mharattas.

When

A. H. 1109. A. D. 1697. When Zoolfeccar Khan, upon raiſing the ſiege of Jinjee, removed to Bindwaſtnee, the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral ſmall forts. He now marched to regain them, and ſtorming the fort of Permacoil, put the garriſon to the ſword. He after this alſo took many fortified temples, which abound through both the Carnatics, and were built in former ages by the rajas, before the Mahummedan conqueſts. When he arrived near Tanjore, the zemindar of Tritchinopoly ſent a conſiderable offering, with requeſts of aſſiſtance to recover ſeveral places which the raja of Tanjore had taken from him. Zoolfeccar Khan complied with the requeſt, and obliged the Tanjoree to reſtore them. The raja of Tritchinopoly was an infant, and the power of the ſtate veſted in his mother, a woman of great abilities, who conducted affairs with a maſculine courage. Here is a ſumptuous temple, built by the rajas, on the banks of the Caveree.

Zoolfeccar Khan overran Tanjore, took much plunder and a very large contribution from the raja; after which he demanded one from the zemindar of Palimcote, but he uſing many evaſions, the khan beſieged the place, which held out, the inhabitants making ſeveral bold ſallies, for five days; when Raow Dulput, with the loſs of fifty Raajepootes, got poſſeſſion of the town, and the polygars evacuated the fort by a wicket in the night, but they were intercepted and plundered by the troops. Zoolfeccar Khan, after the capture of this poſt, placed tannas in Annetwaul, and returned to the neighbourhood of Jinjee. Having doubts of the fidelity of Ajeet Naire, he communicated them to the emperor, who ordered him to be put to death; which was done by ſtratagem, as he was too powerful to be puniſhed openly. All his women burnt with him. His effects were plundered by the troops.

A. H. 1110. A. D. 1698. Aſſud Khan was now called to the preſence, and again reſtored to the imperial favour. Zoolfeccar Khan having ſent, under the charge of Syed Kubbeer, the contributions of the zemindars of Carnatic to the preſence, was diſtinguiſhed by promotion and other honours. The emperor with the royal family went to paſs the Ramazan at Beejapore, and left the charge of the grand camp to Aſſud Khan. At this time, the wells in the city of Beejapore dried up entirely, and the inhabitants were obliged to bring water from a diſtance.

The prince Mahummud Mauzim, with his family, had long been confined cloſely in the Ruggelah Bar, and ſuffered greatly from his father's diſpleaſure. Mahummud Azim Shaw was dangerouſly indiſpoſed with a dropſy, and ſome ill conduct of the prince Kaum Bukhſh had cauſed him to be kept alſo in ſtrict confinement. At length the emperor, moved by their diſtreſſes and paternal affection, ordered the prince's tents to be pitched without the Ruggelah Bar, and permitted them more liberty. After this they were gradually reſtored to their jaghires and commands. The prince Mahummud Mauzim was honoured with the title of Bahadur Shaw and government of Cabul. On taking leave, he was permitted to beat the nobut from the royal quarters. Several amras were alſo ſent with him. The imperial camp moved to Birmahpore, called now Iſlaumpore, twelve coſs from Sholapore, on the banks of the Beemrah river.

Zoolfeccar Khan beſieged the fort of Velore, and had reduced the place to great diſtreſs, when Dhunnah and Suntah approached with a conſiderable army to its relief. Dhunnah arrived firſt, and the khan having ſent his baggage and women, under charge of Raow Dulput, to the fort of Arcot, eight coſs diſtant, marched to oppoſe the enemy; who then retired to Tirivaddee, where they ſurrounded Saadutmund Khan Ghoree, the fojedaur, but the khan arriving ſpeedily, gave Dhunnah a complete defeat, after which he returned to recommence the ſiege.

Suntah following Dhunnah, arrived in the Beejapore Carnatic, where Caſim Khan, the fojedaur, joined by Khanehzad Khan and Amaun Oollah Khan, prepared to oppoſe him; but the zemindars joining Suntah, he was greatly ſuperior to the royaliſts. Caſim Khan fled to the fort of Dundoore, but there being ſcarce any proviſions in the place, many men, elephants, camels, horſes, and bullocks, began to die of hunger. Every hope of relief was cut off; and about a month had paſſed in this diſtreſſed ſituation, when a capitulation was unavoidably entered into. The effects, which had eſcaped the plunder in the field, were all given up to the enemy, and the troops came out in a moſt wretched and famiſhed ſituation. Caſim Khan died during the blockade: the other amras, after recruiting themſelves and men at Adonee, moved to the preſence; but the emperor, being much diſpleaſed, would not admit them to an audience, and detached them to various places. Khanehzad Khan was appointed kelladaar of Mahummudabad Bieder; Suffſhekun Khan fojedaur of Dhamounee; Mahummud Moraud Khan fojedaur of Godereh in Guzarat; and Ram Chund, ſon of Raow Dulput, kelladaar of Ghur Nummoona; but he fled from thence to his father's zemindaree with intention of taking forcible poſſeſſion; upon which the emperor ſent orders to the fojedaurs of that quarter, either to take him priſoner, or put him to death.

Dudaur

Mandh

Suntah after his victory moved towards Jinjee; when Zoolfeccar Khan marching from Arcot gave him a total defeat near the fort of Arnee. Himmut Khan, ſon of Khan Jehaun Bahadur, being ſent to the aid of Khanehzad Khan, was killed by an arrow in an action with the enemy, and ſoon after Khan Jehaun died in the imperial camp. Aurungzebe did him the honour of a viſit in his laſt moments. His fortune was confiſcated to the treaſury, but the amount did not anſwer expectations. He was a nobleman of true dignity; and, being the emperor's foſter brother, thought himſelf ſuperior to all the other amras. He was expenſively magnificent in his equipages, houſes, and attendants. He uſed great freedom of ſpeech with Aurungzebe, who was often diſpleaſed with his repartees, particularly, when on aſking his advice in the affairs of Dekkan, he talked in a free ſtrain of cenſure on the imperial operations.

A. H. 1111. A. D. 1699. This year was employed in purſuing the Mharattas, who plundered Dekkan in parties, as far as Ballaghaut.

A. H. 1112. A. D. 1700. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving his baggage at Arcot, marched to collect contributions, which he exacted from the zemindars of Tanjore and other diſtricts; but they did not ſuffice to pay up the troops. He then moved near Jinjee, where inteſtine diviſions had happened among the Mharatta chiefs, which gave hopes of taking the place.

Dhunnah, having diſagreed with Suntah, repreſented to Rama, that this chief had uſurped dangerous power, from his large army, and had formed plans of treaſon againſt him. Upon this, Rama diſpatched Amreet Raow, a chief of much reputation, with his own and Dhunnah's troops, to attack Suntah, who defeated them. Rama and Dhunnah retreated to Jinjee, and Suntah returned to his own country, much diſpleaſed at their treatment; but he was killed in a ſurprize ſhortly after, by the brother in law of Amreet Raow, who cut off his head, and ſent it to the emperor. Dhunnah now acquired great power among the Mharattas, and formed a party with Ram Chund Pundit, Rama's miniſter; but Perſeram, another principal Pundit, favoured the cauſe of Ranoo, Suntah's ſon, and his uncle Herjee Hindoo Raow.

At this time Rama entreated peace on certain conditons, and ſent his ſon Kerrun under care of Ram Chund Harrah to Zoolfeccar Khan, who forwarded his petition to court, and encamped during the rains at Bindwaſtnee. The emperor would not liſten to Rama's offers of ſubmiſſion, but ordered Zoolfeccar Khan to commence the ſiege of Jinjee; upon which Kerrun was ſent back to his father. Zoolfeccar Khan was honoured by the title of Nuſſerut Jung; upon which he made a great feaſt, and conferred rich preſents upon his officers and troops.

Nuſſerut Jung marched, and encamped before Jinjee, of which he began the ſiege without delay. He himſelf choſe the poſt of Soulungwerum, Dulput Raow was ſtationed before the gateway and on the back of the fort, Ram Chund Harrah between it and Chummar Tungara, a redoubt which was taken by ſtorm two days after by Daood Khan Punnee. Here was the wicket of Shitaun Dooee, and Nuſſerut Jung might have taken the fort of Jinjee in an inſtant if he had choſen to follow his blow by this paſſage; but, like many other generals, he wiſhed to prolong the war. Indeed the total ruin of the Mharatta power might have been effected with eaſe many years before, but the amras delayed on purpoſe, and ſecretly aſſiſted each other to draw out the war to a never ending length, for their own advantage; alſo dreading, that when the emperor ſhould have finally reduced Dekkan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Bulkh, which expeditions were diſagreeable to the nobility, who did not wiſh to encounter the hardſhips of the north.

Rama being alarmed, left his family, and fled to Tanjore. Raow Dulput, who was ſtationed near the gateway, carried his approaches to Kiſhen Ghur, which joins to Jinjee, and was advanced near the wall, when Zoolfeccar Khan thought proper to recall him to his own poſt, and Daood Khan was ſtationed at Chuttun Ghur. A perſon having found out a path which led through the woods into the fort, communicated his diſcovery to Daood Khan, who went himſelf with ſome attendants to ſurvey it, and finding it paſſable, the ſtorm was immediately ordered. Raow Dulput with his followers ſoon gained the outer wall in ſpite of

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all oppoſition; upon which the beſieged fled towards the citadel, called Calicote, but the Raajepootes were too ſwift for them, and put to death great numbers; alſo taking five elephants belonging to Rama. The ſurvivors took refuge in a building called Raujeghur. The wicket of Shitaun Dooee, which had been bricked up, was now opened, and Zoolfeccar Khan entered with his people.

Daood Khan alſo entered at another part, and the inhabitants here aſked for quarter, which was granted them, but an immenſe plunder fell to the victors. Rama's family having barricadoed themſelves in Raujeghur, the ſtrongeſt part of Jinjee, entreated terms; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan came himſelf to the gate, and ſent in by a ladder Ram Chund Harrah to give them aſſurances of protection and good treatment. Palanquins were ſent for the women and children, who came out and were ſaved from violence; but one of Rama's wives, fearing diſhonour, threw herſelf from the top of the wall, and was daſhed to pieces on the rocks below. Zoolfeccar Khan remained in the fort to collect the plunder and poſt guards; but the other amras returned to their ſeveral ſtations. About four thouſand women and children were taken, but very few fighting men. Jinjee is the general name for the whole of the fortifications, though there are ſix forts and a large town, extenſive tanks, groves of cocoanut trees, and gardens. The khan having given orders for the repair of the fort and an inveſtigation of the private paths, appointed Ghuzzunfir Khan kelladaar for the preſent, and came out with Rama's women and children under his own protection, to the camp.

A. H. 1113. A. D. 1701. This year the imperial camp was overflowed by the riſing of the Beemrah, and great numbers of people drowned; but at length his majeſty penned a devout prayer, which upon being thrown into the water, it fell inſtantly. The prince Bahadur Shaw was appointed to the government of Cabul.

Zoolfeccar Khan Nuſſerut Jung was called to the preſence from Arcot. The emperor marched in perſon againſt the enemy, and after taking in three days the fort of Buſſunt Gurrah, ſat down before Sittarrah, a place of great ſtrength. Bhaow Kiſhna, a Mharatta chief, with fifteen thouſand horſe, croſſed the river Nerbudda, and after laying waſte Dhamounee and ſome other diſtricts, retreated. This was the firſt time that a Mharatta chief had ventured to extend their depredations acroſs the Nerbudda. Ranoo, Suntah's ſon, with Harjee Gorereh, commonly called Hindoo Raow, in conjunction had collected great riches by their incurſions, and Rama, at the head of a vaſt body, alſo committed great exceſſes in the imperial ſoubah of Berar. A. H. 1114. A. D. 1702.

Sultan Bedar Bukht was detached to puniſh theſe banditti, alſo Zoolfeccar Khan; who, leaving his heavy baggage at Sholapore, met the prince near the town of Jarnate, and marched in purſuit of Rama, who fled before him, by the road of Porundeh, and croſſed the Beemrah into his own country. Dhunnah with other chiefs marched for Birmahpore, where was the imperial baggage camp, and had the khan not followed by very quick marches, they would moſt probably have plundered it. On the day of his approach they fled towards Sittarrah Ghur, and being arrived near the royal camp, attempted the plunder of the grand granaries; but Zoolfeccar Khan coming up, gave them a total defeat. The evening of the battle Beheramund Khan, meer bukhſhi, joined the khan, and requeſted that he would permit him to take the credit of the victory, in order to give him reputation with the emperor. The khan conſented; and accordingly the bukhſhi and his followers were honoured with the royal thanks and honorary dreſſes. Some days after, Zoolfeccar Khan requeſted an audience, and was graciouſly received by the emperor, who diſpatched him with other amras to obſerve the enemy, and prevent them from committing exceſſes on the baggage camp at Birmahpore. On his arrival, he learned that Ouzbuk

Khan,

Khan, with a large convoy of money and proviſions, was arrived at Roigurrah, twelve coſs off, but had halted, not daring to advance through fear of the enemy, who were on the watch for ſo rich a prize. The khan upon this marched to join him; then leaving the baggage under his charge, purſued the enemy four and twenty coſs from the morning until nine o'clock at night, not giving them the ſmalleſt reſpite or himſelf refreſhment. He then returned, and conducting the convoy in ſafety to Birmahpore, halted ſome time in that neighbourhood.

Intelligence arrived that Rama dying of the ſmall pox, was ſucceeded by his ſon Kerrun, who ſurvived him but a few days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sewa, an infant of only two years, under the guardianſhip of Ram Chund Pundit, who took up his reſidence with his charge in the fortreſs of Kalneh, and was unanimouſly obeyed by the other chiefs. Nuſſerut Jung purſued a body of the enemy by Sholapore, and croſſed the Beemrah at Tuljapore, into their country.

Ruttun Sing, ſon of Gopal Sing, who had been ſent by his father to manage his zemindaree, kept back the revenues to his own uſe; upon which Gopal Sing complained to the emperor, who ordered Ruttun Sing to the preſence, but he would not obey. However after ſome time he made his ſubmiſſions, through Mukhtar Khan, the governor of Malwa, and embraced the Mahummedan faith; which pleaſing Aurungzebe, he conferred upon him his father's territories. Gopal Sing being diſguſted at this, fled from the ſultan Bedar Bukht's camp, and endeavoured to recover his country by rebellion; but, not ſucceeding, he ſought a ſhelter in the rana of Odipore's dominions. The emperor at this time ſhewed but little favour to his faithful and moſt uſeful ſubjects the Raajepootes, which greatly cooled their ardour for his ſervice.

Zoolfeccar, after croſſing at Tuljapore, purſued the enemy wherever they fled, and had ſeveral ſevere engagements, in all which he was victorious. Diſſentions had happened between Dhunnah and Ranoo; but they now ſaw it their intereſt to unite, and agreed to meet for a reconciliation, and to form a plan of operations, near Koolburga. The khan, having purſued Dhunnah to the neighbourhood of Tuldoorg, left his baggage at Sholapore, and marched towards the town of Monillah, which was the place of conference fixed upon by the two chiefs. Dhunnah upon this ventured to engage, and was defeated. He after this met Ranoo, who brought a vaſt body to join him, at Firoſeabad, eight coſs from Koolburga. Being reconciled, the two chiefs formed a regular camp, near the ruined fort of Firoſeabad, on the banks of the Beemrah. Zoolfeccar Khan, though his force was comparatively ſmall with that of the enemy, which conſiſted of thirty five thouſand horſe, repeatedly defeated them, and, at length, after a ſpace of eight months, they were rendered unable to keep the field, and ſeparating their forces, took ſhelter in the woods. After a continuance of ſome months, Ranoo went towards Pernalleh, and Dhunnah towards Wakin Kerah. The khan, upon intelligence of this, leaving Birmahpore upon his right, marched, and encamped near the fort of Mujhunder, belonging to the emperor. The rains now ſet in, and the horſes, elephants, and camels had been ſo haraſſed by conſtant marching as to be quite unſerviceable. The khan had in this laſt campaign, in marches, countermarches, and purſuits, moved above two thouſand coſs; ſo that the whole army was exceſſively fatigued. Intelligence now arrived, that a body of the enemy committed depredations between Birmahpore and the royal camp; upon which the emperor ordered the khan to take poſt where he thought proper between theſe two ſtations, to keep open the communication. The khan acted accordingly, ſhifting his ground from place to place, as he ſaw occaſion. Daood Khan Punnee was detached from him to the

A. H. 1115.
A. D. 1703.

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the fojedaury of Carnatic Hyderabad, ſo that but a very ſmall force remained.

The emperor was ſtill engaged in beſieging the fort of Sittarrah Ghur, which yet held out againſt his arms with an obſtinate bravery, and found means to procure daily ſupplies by private roads. The beſieged alſo made ſeveral ſallies by night on the camp, but were always driven back with loſs.

Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, at length carried two mines under a baſtion, which were ſprung, and blew up about four hundred of the beſieged who were ſtationed upon the walls of the fort; but Terbeut Khan having neglected to give proper information to the troops in the batteries, about three thouſand of them, with ſeveral chiefs of note, were killed by the exploſion: which misfortune brought upon him the royal diſpleaſure, and the reſentment of the whole army, as every one had loſt a relation or friend. The governor of the fort, finding it vain to ſtand out longer, begged quarter; and, at the interceſſion of ſultan Bedar Bukht, was pardoned, and promoted to the rank of five thouſand. The emperor named this fort Azim Tarrah; and, after ſettling a proper garriſon, moved to beſiege Perlee, another ſtrong fortreſs not far diſtant. Fatteh Oollah Khan was commanded to conduct the ſiege, and having found an opportunity of planting wooden ladders on the walls, about three hundred Moguls and others were killed in an unſucceſsful ſtorm; but the enemy ſoon after ſubmitted on capitulation, which was granted by his majeſty, at the interceſſion of the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw. This place was named by the emperor Noruſs Tarrah.

After this, the emperor marched, though in the height of the rains, which was ſo diſtreſſing to the army, that even many noblemen were obliged to travel on foot. He halted for ſome days at Bhoſegurrah,

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Bhoſegurrah, which was new named Iſlaum Tarrah; the prince Azim Shaw was ſent to Malwa, as the rana had ſhewn ſigns of diſaffection by giving ſhelter to Gopal Sing Chanderaowt, and a rebellion in that quarter was expected, more eſpecially as Shujaut Khan, the governor of Ajmere, was lately dead, and a new one not yet appointed. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who had been ſent to correct the zemindar of Deogur, was recalled to the preſence, and the prince ordered to puniſh him on his march. Upon this account he halted ſome time at Boorahanpore, and was then ordered to take upon him the government of Guzarat.

Dulput Roy was honoured with the command of the advanced body of Zoolfeccar Khan's army, in the room of Daood Khan Punnee; and though he had before kept up a force out of his own purſe, beyond his compliment, he on this occaſion greatly encreaſed the number for his own reputation.

The emperor moved to encamp at Khouaſſpore for the remainder of the rains, which were ſo violent, that the camp was overflowed by the river, and a great number of people and cattle periſhed. The waters roſe up to the gate of the royal muſic room, and danger was apprehended to the apartments of his majeſty, who was at this time much indiſpoſed with a ſore in the right foot, which reſiſted all the power of medicine, and was very painful.

The prince Bedar Bukht was ſent towards Mortizaabad for the ſiege of Pernalleh, and Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to attend him. He accordingly joined the prince at Moorje, where he halted ſome time on account of the overflowing of the waters; but repeated inſtructions coming from court to proceed, the prince at length moved by forced marches, and ſat down before Pernalleh. Zoolfeccar Khan made an excurſion as far as the fort of Khalneh. The emperor moved from Khouaſſpore to Moorje, in order to give inſtructions and aſſiſt the ſiege.

Dhunnah with a great body of Mharattas having plundered in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Hummeed ad Dien Khan and Munaim Khan were detached againſt him; but a great number of their followers being killed, they required reinforcements, and Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to their aſſiſtance. The enemy fled immediately on hearing of his approach, and he purſued them as far as Jugoanee in Beejapore, when they made a ſtand, and were defeated with great loſs. The next day a freſh body appeared, and Raow Dulput purſued them without halting for thirty coſs, with much ſlaughter. Zoolfeccar Khan after this moved back with ſpeed to Pernalleh, leſt the enemy ſhould attempt to diſturb the ſiege of that place.

All the Mharatta chiefs after ſome time united under Ram Chund Pundit, and moved to the neighbourhood of Pernalleh, where they plundered the camp followers and travellers without mercy. A number of grain merchants coming with proviſions, the enemy ſurrounded them at Rollapore, only five coſs from the camp; upon which the prince ſent Serdaur Khan Dekkanee to their aſſiſtance; but the enemy being in great force, he could only act upon the defenſive, of which he ſent notice to the prince, who immediately diſpatched Nuſſerut Jung, Raow Dulput, and Ram Sing Harrah to his relief. Raow Dulput arriving firſt, his Raajepootes killed about four hundred of the enemy's foot. Zoolfeccar Khan remained under arms the whole night, and in the morning the enemy, ſeeing no advantage was to be gained, took to flight. The whole imperial army was much diſtreſſed this year, by fatiguing marches, ſcarcity of proviſions, and other inconveniencies.

A. H. 1116.
A. D. 1704.

Ghazi ad Dien Khan being recalled from Deogur to the preſence, was ordered to purſue Ranoo, who committed depredations in the neighbourhood of Koolburga; and alſo to puniſh Poonapah Pinder, the raow of Wakin Kerah. Ghazi ad Dien marched towards Koolburga, and the emperor to carry on the ſiege of Pernalleh with greater vigour. Muckliſs Khan, ſecond bukſhi, died, and Khanehzad Khan, ſon of Roh Oollah Khan, being recalled from Hyderabad, was honoured with his father's title and the office of grand ſteward of the imperial houſehold. When the emperor arrived in the vicinity of Pernalleh, the prince with all his officers received the honour of an audience. Abou Houſſun, the depoſed king of Hyderabad, died at this time in his confinement in the fortreſs of Dowlutabad. Dhunnah and other Mharatta chiefs, advanced to the grand baggage camp ~~at Birmahpore~~, and the enemy even invaded Khandeſhe and the province of Malwa. Zoolfeccar Khan purſued and defeated Dhunnah.

Jumlat al Moolk Aſſud Khan was recalled to the preſence, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan entruſted with the charge of the baggage camp in his room. The fort of Pernalleh was at length taken, after which the emperor moved with the grand camp, and cantoned in the vicinity of Kuttaſon and Burrah Butchgaum. Beheramund Khan was ſent to beſiege the fort of Chundun Mundun, which the enemy marched to relieve; but Zoolfeccar Khan advancing in the night, when it rained very hard, came upon their army by ſurprize, and defeated them. The emperor now marched to beſiege the fort of Khalneh, and was pleaſed to exalt Aſſud Khan to the title of ameer al amra.

Zoolfeccar Khan again defeated a great body of Mharattas in the neighbourhood of Porundeh, and at ſeveral other places. During this purſuit, he paſſed through part of Berar, which was much laid waſte by the enemy; but they had ſpared ſome pergunnahs,

nahs, the zemindars of which were regular in the payment of the choute. The landholders of Berar and Khandeſhe joined the enemy, to the number of ſixty thouſand, and oppoſed Zoolfeccar Khan, whoſe force was but ſmall, and Alimerdan Khan, the nazim of Berar, durſt not move from Elichpore, the capital of the province, out of dread of the enemy; upon which the khan marched to within ten coſs of that city, and ſummoned him to join; which at length he did, but every day begged to be diſmiſſed. Zoolfeccar Khan, regarding the good of the imperial ſervice, would not comply with his requeſt.

One day, the khan having made a tedious forced march, came to an eminence where he deſigned to halt for the night; but perceiving the enemy's camp, Dulput Raow was diſpatched to attack it with his advanced corps, and the khan followed to ſupport him with the whole army. The enemy were ſoon put to the route, and fled ſeventeen coſs without once looking behind them, ſo great was the dread of the khan's arms. He now permitted Alimerdan Khan to return to Elichpore, and was viſited by Khodabundeh Khan, ſon to the late ameer al amra Shaiſteh Khan, but this nobleman would not move the ſmalleſt diſtance with him out of his diſtricts, ſo that Zoolfeccar Khan was left with not more than three thouſand horſe. Notwithſtanding, he ſtill purſued the enemy, who amounted to about ſixty thouſand, to the fort of Kolaſs Ghur, in the Hyderabad country. It is the cuſtom of the Mharattas to preſs chiefly on the rear of an enemy, and they followed this mode on the preſent criſis, but were as often repulſed by the bravery of Ram Sing Harrah and Dulput Raow.

Zoolfeccar having in the purſuit expended moſt of his ammunition, found it adviſeable to retire to Mahummudabad Bieder for freſh ſupplies, which having procured, he again marched after the enemy, and gave them a complete defeat on the banks of the river Baumgunga; after which they ſeparated, and fled to the hills in different bodies. They ſoon again threatened Berar, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches, advanced to the borders of that province, when they thought proper to retreat. At this time, from the river Nerbudda, through all Dekkan, Khandeſhe, Berar, and Kokun, in every diſtrict, the Mharattas ſwarmed like ants or locuſts. It may not be unneceſſary to mention the cauſes of the encreaſe of theſe plunderers, who, though always defeated by the royal troops in the field, yet by their ſudden inroads often laid whole diſtricts waſte, before armies could arrive to puniſh them.

In the reign of Shaw Jehaun the government of provinces was lodged with amras of the firſt rank, who kept a large force on foot, but were now held by new nobles, of inferior rank, poor, and rapacious, who neglected to maintain proper troops, and at the ſame time oppreſſed the people. The zemindars would not obey fojedaurs without troops, and became rebellious, and remiſs in their payments. As the fojedaurs could not force them, they were glad to content themſelves with what they could get; and in order to lead a quiet life, entered into ſecret agreements with them, and winked at their diſobedience, which made them ſtill more inſolent.

In the countries dependant on Hyderabad and Beejapore, which before their conqueſt maintained above two hundred thouſand horſe, there were not now ſtationed above thirty four thouſand. The jaghiredars could not get poſſeſſion of their jaghires for want of troops; and if they did, their holding them for any time was ſo uncertain, that they did not conſider the eaſe of the farmers, but oppreſſed them for money by every mode that avarice could deviſe, ſo that they entered into combinations with the enemy. While the newly conquered countries were thus unſettled, the antient territories of Dekkan were not leſs troubled by the tyranny of governors, and the frequent changes of them and the jaghiredars, who were obliged not only to ſupply their own neceſſities, but furniſh large bribes to the civil officers about the court. It was repreſented to the emperor, that the zemindars were in confederacy with the enemy; upon which he ordered all their weapons of defence to be ſeized, and this left them an eaſy prey to invaders, whom at laſt they joined for ſelf-ſecurity.

Contributions were then collected in lieu of regular revenues, and the parties ſent every where to collect ſupplies for the grand camp were guilty of every ſort of exceſs. Added to this, the collectors of the odious religious capitation, forced millions from the farmers, and accounted but for ſmall ſums with the royal treaſury. Whenever the emperor appointed a jaghiredar, the Mharattas appointed another to the ſame diſtrict, and both collected as they found opportunity; ſo that, in fact, every place had two maſters. The farmers, thus oppreſſed, left off cultivating more ground than would barely ſubſiſt them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment.

The emperor having taken moſt of the Mharatta fortreſſes, they were left without any reſource but plunder, out of which they paid a ſhare to their chief, the ſon of Rama. Many of the powerful diſaffected zemindars joined them, ſo that they amounted to above an hundred thouſand horſe. The imperial amras, deprived of their revenues from the jaghires, had recourſe to falſe muſters, and did not keep up above half their compliments of men; ſo that detachments could not be ſent every where to puniſh the invaders, and the grand army was always employed in ſieges, which left the Mharattas at liberty to plunder almoſt without moleſtation, but particularly during the ſiege of Khalneh, their exceſſes were unbounded. They ſtopped every communication of ſupply to the imperial camp, where numbers periſhed by famine; and their inſolence grew to ſuch a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whoſe mode of making war was ſo favourable to their invaſions and depredations. Added to this, the imperial troops were tired out with a conſtant campaign of above twenty years, and grew diſguſted and remiſs in their duty.

Zoolfeccar Khan, during ſix months, had nineteen actions with the enemy, and purſued them from place to place, above three thouſand coſs, in marches and countermarches.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped for ſome time near Satoor, and then made incurſions to the neighbourhood of Kundaneh, where the Mharattas had fixed their cantonments. The fort of Khalneh now fell into the emperor's hands, when, notwithſtanding the height of the rains, he moved to Bahadur Ghur. This march was attended with ſo many inconveniences, that even the emperor's tents were often left far in the rear, and bodies of the enemy plundered part of the baggage, which, through the fatigue of the elephants, camels, and bullocks, were left behind in different places. Zoolfeccar Khan was diſpatched towards Ahmednuggur in purſuit of the enemy, who were committing depredations in that quarter. Beheramund Khan, meer bukhſhi, one of Aurungzebe's oldeſt nobility and friends, dying was buried at his own requeſt in a ſmall tomb at Bahadur Ghur. He was ſucceeded in his office by Zoolfeccar Khan Nuſſerut Jung, who, notwithſtanding this appointment, continued in the command of the army againſt the Mharattas, and Muttullub Khan acted as his deputy in the preſence. A. H. 1117. A. D. 1705.

The depredations of a large body of the enemy near the royal camp were encreaſing daily, and ſome of the imperial elephants were carried off from their foraging ground, at only two coſs diſtant from it. Mahummud Ameen Khan Tooranee, ſuddur al ſuddoor, was ſent to recover them, but the enemy preſſed him ſo hard, that his elephants, horſes, camels, and baggage, fell into their hands.

He himſelf with the greateſt difficulty eſcaped alone into a village, from which he travelled in a common hackery to Chumarcondeh, where the fojedaur ſupplied him with neceſſary conveyance to the royal camp. Aurungzebe however received him graciouſly, and conferred many favours upon him. The emperor after this marched to beſiege the fort of Kundaneh, and Fatteh Oollah Khan was ſent to conduct the artillery from Khaineh. He was hard puſhed by the enemy near Rhamutpore, but Zoolfeccar Khan arrived in time to his aſſiſtance, and it was reſolved to puniſh Dhunnah effectually. At this inſtant intelligence arrived, that Cheen Koollich Khan, fojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was arrived on the banks of the Kiſtnah, ſixteen coſs from the city, and that a large body of Mharattas had marched with the hopes of plundering him. Zoolfeccar, upon this, moved by forced marches to ſupport him, but upon his arrival at Beejapore he learned that Koollich Khan had ſafely gained the fort of Mudkul, and Dhunnah, being diſappointed, had gone towards the neighbourhood of Koolburga. Though Ghazi ad Dien Khan was at the head of an army to puniſh the enemy, he did not move to the aſſiſtance of his ſon. Upon his arrival at Koolburga, Zoolfeccar Khan received orders to haſten to the preſence. At this time the emperor was employed in the ſiege of Kundaneh, where Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, had erected his batteries on the ſame hill, that the Maharajah Jeſſwunt Sing had formerly done. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived in camp, was graciouſly received, and ordered to carry on approaches on the ſide of Sewapore. Many days had not paſſed, when intelligence arrived that a body of Mharattas, having croſſed the Nerbudda, were committing depredations near Oojein, and that the Afghauns of Malwa had alſo raiſed a rebellion; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to march for the defence of that country. Raow Dulput was now promoted to the rank of three thouſand. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was appointed to the government of Berar, and to defend the country of Telingana, when he fixed his cantonments cloſe to the fort of Candahar.

The emperor ſtill lay before Kundaneh. Sultan Mahummud Bedar Bukht was appointed to the government of Aurungabad and Boorahanpore. The enemy, after plundering the environs of the laſt mentioned city, croſſed the Nerbudda, and deſtroyed the town of Ghurkore. Though Raja Jey Sing and Ruſtum Khan Dekkanee were detached againſt them by the prince, yet no advantage was gained; upon which the royal orders were iſſued, that the prince and Zoolfeccar Khan ſhould act in conjunction.

The Khan arriving near Ferdapore, the Mharattas quitted the ſiege of that city, and made incurſions into Berar. The prince left Alimerdan Khan for the defence of Boorahanpore, and Zoolfeccar Khan detached Ruſtum Khan Dekkanee for the protection of Berar. Intelligence arrived, that the enemy under Dhunnah's ſon had beſieged Sultanpore Nudderbar, upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched to that quarter, where, on his arrival, he learned that they had gone to Buggellana. The khan purſued them, and arrived at Ambolah, where Ragnoo, a Mharatta chief in the ſervice of Moattiber Khan, tannadaar of Kallean and fojedaur of Goolſhunabad, maintained a body of robbers, and carried on an open traffick unmoleſted with merchants, for the effects plundered by his people, but he found means to evade the khan's diſpleaſure.

Dhunnah's ſon now moved with intentions to infeſt the environs of the royal camp, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches haſtening to Nerool, prevented his putting his deſign into execution. The fort of Kundaneh was now given up by the governor to the emperor for a ſum of money. The enemy ſoon after this plundering in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Zoolfeccar Khan as often repulſed them as they dared to approach. About this time negotiations were carried on by ſultan Kaum Bukhſh with the enemy for a peace, and Raja Saooh was releaſed from the Ruggelah Bar, and entruſted to the care of the prince; but the Mharattas, who now had acquired great ſtrength, and plundered at pleaſure all the provinces of Dekkan, were ſo inſolent in their demands, that all thoughts of accommodation were ſoon again laid aſide, and Raja Saooh remanded to his confinement. Zoolfeccar Khan was diſpatched into Khandeſhe, where nearly forty thouſand Mharattas committed great depredations.

The emperor, after the fall of Kundaneh, cantoned in the town of Poonah; but, owing to the plunders of the enemy, grain was ſo dear in the royal camp, that only three ſeer could be had for a rupee. A great drought had alſo happened in all the provinces of Dekkan, ſo that there was little cultivation, and many of the inhabitants ſought an aſylum acroſs the Nerbudda. The emperor's affairs viſibly declined, and the enemy roamed at large in every quarter. Zoolfeccar Khan moved by rapid marches to the neighbourhood of Boorahanpore, when they fled into Berar; and Ghazi ad Dien Khan being entruſted with the protection of that province, he did not purſue them, but agreeable to the imperial orders marched to protect Aurungabad and Ahmednuggur.

Though proviſions were beyond expreſſion ſcarce in the royal camp, yet Aurungzebe marched from Poonah to beſiege the fort of Raujeghur; and Sudder ad Dien Mahummud Zumman Khan, third bukhſhi, was ordered to protect the grand baggage camp at Bahadur Ghur. Zoolfeccar Khan with a convoy of grain, of which he had collected a great quantity, arrived ſafely at the royal camp, and was promoted to additional rank for this ſervice. The Mharattas in Berar, having completely defeated Ruſtum Khan, croſſed the Nerbudda; upon which Ghazi ad Dien Khan marched after them, and orders were ſent to the munſubdars of Malwa to collect and oppoſe them. The prince Mahummud Bedar Bukht was alſo ordered to croſs the Nerbudda, and Zoolfeccar Khan to protect Aurungabad and Boorahanpore, till his return.

Negotiations towards the ſettlement of a peace were ſtill carried on, through the ſultan Kaum Bukhſh, with Dhunnah Jadoo, who only entered into them to deceive and delay time. Neema Sindia, after croſſing the Nerbudda, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje. The forts of Raujeghur and Toorreah fell to the royal arms.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped on the banks of the [illegible]ung, and the prince Bedar Bukht marched towards Oojein, but cantoned for ſome time near Boorahanpore. The emperor, after the fall of Raujeghur, moved towards the fort of Sumber Chumber; but, on account of the rains, halted within fourteen coſs. Raow Dulput eſcorted a large convoy of ſupplies as far as Ahmednuggur, in the way to the royal camp. Ali Nukkee, a grandſon to the Perſian emperor, being diſguſted, fled to Surat, from whence he ſent a petition to Aurungzebe, who invited him to court, and upon his arrival conferred upon him the command of three thouſand horſe, and the title of Mirza Suffavee Khan.

Zoolfeccar Khan detached Dulput Raow and Ram Sing Harrah in purſuit of the enemy, who had made incurſions to the vicinity of Beejapore and Beelbuttah. They followed them from thence into Khandeſhe, where they completely defeated and obliged them to evacuate that province entirely, taking a great number of their horſes and arms; after which they returned to Aurungabad.

Neema Sindiah, who had quarrelled with Dhunnah, ſeparated from him; and croſſing the Nerbudda, as before mentioned, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje, at the inſtigation of

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the rebel raja Sutterſal Bondela; but they did not long agree together. The imperial orders had been ſent for the prince Bedar Bukht to purſue the invader, but he was delayed, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan Feroſe Jung, after puniſhing the Mharattas in Berar, left his baggage at Boorahanpore, and moved by quick marches to Seronje, from which the enemy fled before his arrival; but the khan wrote to court that he had gained a victory, which pleaſed the emperor ſo much that he immediately conferred upon him the title of Sippaeh Sallar, and many favours on all his principal officers; but they were withdrawn on the truth being made known, and he returned to his government in Berar. Dulput Raow agreeably to the orders of Zoolfeccar Khan, conducted the family of the prince to Boorahanpore, and then returned. Roh Oollah Khan, grand ſteward of the imperial houſehold and treaſurer of the privy purſe, ſon to the deceaſed nobleman of the ſame name, died about this time. The emperor himſelf was taken very ill, but recovered in a ſhort time. A great ſcarcity of grain prevailed all through Dekkan. The imperial revenues, numerous elephants, and a vaſt caravan, having arrived from Hindooſtan at Aurungabad, Raow Dulput and Ram Sing Harrah eſcorted them at two different times to Ahmednuggur and the imperial camp. Khodabundeh Khan, ſon to the late ameer al amra, who was fojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was called to the preſence, and diſtinguiſhed by the poſt of grand ſteward of the houſehold. Two caravans, one ſoon after another, coming from Hindooſtan towards Aurungabad, were both greatly plundered by the Mharattas near the paſs of Ferdapore, ſo that the army, by theſe diſaſters and the waſte of the jaghires by the enemy, were exceedingly diſtreſſed for all the neceſſaries of life. The Mharattas, by their frequent ſucceſsful plunders, became very rich and powerful. A party even advanced cloſe to the city of Hyderabad, with intentions to lay it waſte. Dhunnah, Kunnoot, and Hundoo roamed at large in the Carnatic, where Daood Khan, an ameer of five thouſand, deputy of Zoolfeccar

Khan, fought with them many battles. Though the emperor was in Dekkan, and above one hundred and ſeventy thouſand horſe were paid for by him in the camp and the provinces, yet they did not ſuffice. The powers of government became relax in every quarter. Aurungzebe moved from the cantonments of Ghur Kerrooſs to puniſh Ponapah Pinder, who had rebelled in the diſtricts of Wakin Kerah, and entertained evil deſigns upon Zuffirabad Bieder. The enemy made an attack on the imperial baggage near Bahadur Ghur, and acquired a great plunder, beſides ſetting fire to great quantities of valuable effects. Their inſolencies were greater than in the laſt year, ſo that the lands round all the capital cities were totally waſte, and lay uncultivated. Neema Sindia made an attempt to advance to Banaras, through the country of Nagpore, but the zemindars united, and prevented his deſign. The Mharattas retook ſeveral fortreſſes that had lately ſubmitted to the royal arms, but particularly the ſtrong fort of Loeh Ghur. The prince Bedar Bukht had, agreeably to the imperial orders, gone to Oojein, ſo that there did not remain a force at Boorahanpore to furniſh eſcorts for the caravans which came from Hindooſtan; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched with his army to that city, and after puniſhing a body of the enemy, who were on the watch for plunder, conducted the treaſure and ſupplies to Aurungabad. His force being but ſmall, he was obliged to requeſt a reinforcement for the defence of that city. Accordingly, Mogul Khan Tooranee was detached to join him for this purpoſe, and Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving him there, marched with a large convoy of treaſure and ſupplies to the imperial camp.

The emperor was ſtill engaged againſt the rebels of Wakin A. H. 1118 19.
Kerah, but the roads all round were crowded with large bodies of A. D. 1706-7.
the enemy; yet ſuch was their dread of Zoolfeccar Khan, that, whenever he approached, they fled inſtantly to the diſtance of thirty five or forty coſs; and he eſcorted his convoy in ſafety to the royal

camp. The emperor encamped about a coſs from the fort of Wakin Kerah, and ordered Cheen Koollich Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery and others, to conduct the ſiege. They accordingly raiſed two large mounds of earth near the gateway, which were immediately occupied by the troops of the ſultan Mahummud Kaum Bukhſh. Cheen Koollich Khan attempted, but in vain, to get poſſeſſion of a hill on another quarter of the fort, but was repeatedly repulſed by the enemy, who ſallied out in great numbers. Hummeed ad Dien Khan alſo was obliged to quit his ſtation, and with difficulty regained the camp. Dhunnah, with other chiefs, having collected about five thouſand horſe and five and twenty thouſand foot, infeſted the neighbourhood. An entrenchment was drawn all round the royal camp. The enemy made ſuch powerful ſallies from the fort, daily and nightly throwing rockets, that not a ſingle perſon durſt venture out of the camp. Detachments from it were repeatedly defeated, and the diſtreſs for grain and forage became pinching to the laſt degree. The cauſe of theſe diſgraces was, that the preſent race of amras, out of avarice, folly, and inexperience, neglected the veterans and their ſons, and mounted as cavalry their own timid, ſlothful, menials and ſlaves, whoſe fighting and running away became ſynonymous terms. The deceitful Pinderrehs made propoſals of peace, through the prince Kaum Bukhſh and Cheen Koollich Khan; but, though the emperor repeatedly diſapproved of them, they ſtill continued their importunate ſolicitations, and indeed all the amras were alarmed at the enemy's encreaſing ſuperiority.

At this time, Zoolfeccar Khan was on his march with ſupplies from Aurungabad. The emperor ſent repeated orders to haſten him and Daood Khan to the preſence; and, for the preſent, regarding the fears of the amras about his perſon, ſeemingly liſtened to the propoſals of the enemy, and beſtowed khelauts on Ponapah, with an elephant, and gave ſome jewels to his mother. Mohtuſhum Khan was ſent into the fort as kelladaar. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived at the imperial camp, was graciouſly received by Aurungzebe, who ordered him immediately to march againſt the Mharattas and Pinderrehs. The khan, accordingly, with Raow Dulput, Ram Sing Harrah, and other chiefs, moved to the ſpot where the beſieged had repulſed Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and reconnoitred it carefully. The enemy, confiding in the natural ſtrength of the place and their numbers, made a great ſhew of reſiſtance; but the khan ſoon drove them away with a very great ſlaughter, upon which they fled for ſhelter to Tulwarreh, cloſe under the hill near the gate of the fort. Zoolfeccar drove other bodies from ſeveral poſts, killing great numbers of the enemy, and loſing ſeveral of his own men, who gallantly purſued too near the ditch. Cheen Koollich Khan, who remained all the while an inactive ſpectator, and who, if he had joined in the aſſaults, might have been of great ſervice, complained on his return that he was not aſſiſted by Zoolfeccar Khan, and was believed by his majeſty. The next day Zoolfeccar Khan went to fix on proper places for erecting batteries, and a body of horſe and foot came out to oppoſe him, but were ſoon repulſed by Dulput Raow, and fled to the hill. Some days after this, Daood Khan Punnee joined from the Carnatic, and Zoolfeccar Khan with his troops and ſome other amras gained poſſeſſion of two eminences near the gate. Jumſheed Khan, an ameer of five thouſand, was killed by a ball in the attack. Day and night were now employed in erecting batteries. Intelligence arrived, that Kunnoput, who was advancing with a large body of Mharattas to relieve the fort, had died on the march, and that the lately conquered fort of Kundaneh was retaken by the enemy. The beſieged, who were now greatly alarmed at the gallantry and ſucceſs of Zoolfeccar Khan, made ſerious propoſals of ſubmiſſion; and the prince Kaum Bukhſh with Cheen Koollich Khan were ordered to examine them, and manage the negotiation; but this did not prevent Zoolfeccar Khan, who was not to be diverted by their ſtratagems, from carrying on vigorous hoſtilities. He divided his army into two bodies, and with one, in perſon, attacked the town of Tulwarreh, cloſe under the fort, which he carried, after a very bloody aſſault. The enemy then took ſhelter in the fort, and annoyed the troops with rockets and muſquetry from the walls, but to no purpoſe; ſo that in the evening Ponapah, with the Mharatta chiefs, being quite diſheartened, made their eſcape by a private road behind the fort. Raow Dulput ſeeing that all firing from the walls had ceaſed, and hearing no noiſe, ventured up to the fort, and finding it empty, ſet the houſes on fire. Munſoor Khan was ordered to take poſſeſſion, and Zoolfeccar Khan ſent to inform and congratulate the emperor. The fire continued burning the whole night and the next day, when a magazine of powder blew up, and killed many people. An accident of the ſame kind happened the next day alſo. The fort of Wakin-Kerah is of no great ſtrength, but requires a very large garriſon to defend it.

Zoolfeccar Khan was not properly rewarded for this victory, the praiſe of which was beſtowed upon others, who had no ſhare in it, yet had the addreſs to make the emperor reprove the khan for having let the enemy eſcape unmoleſted. The royal ear indeed had long been poſſeſſed by a few deſigning men, who diverted him from attending to his moſt uſeful ſervants, which gave much diſguſt, and weakened the affections of the army to the royal perſon.

Zoolfeccar Khan was ſent to puniſh the zemindars about Koolburga and Khankernee, and to eſcort the imperial elephants and horſes to Aurungabad. Terbeut Khan was diſpatched with an army to retake Kundaneh, about three coſs from which the emperor now erected cantonments. Zoolfeccar Khan, after ſettling the contributions of Koolburga and other places, moved to Aurungabad, where he remained ſome time, and diſpatched Mogul Khan with treaſure and ſupplies to the imperial camp. Intelligence arriving that Neema Sindia was plundering the pergunnah of Bertoo, five and twenty coſs from Aurungabad, though Zoolfeccar Khan had ſent great part of his troops to eſcort treaſure to the royal camp, he did not wait for their return, but moved by forced marches, and the enemy fled as he approached. He did not give over the purſuit, but followed them to their baggage camp, to defend which they made a ſtand, and were completely defeated, with the loſs of ſeveral of their chiefs, and all their baggage and plunder fell into the hands of the victors, who returned in triumph to Aurungabad. This was that body of the enemy who had laid waſte the province of Malwa as far as Seronje.

Zoolfeccar Khan was again ſummoned to the imperial preſence, but being taken ill, was obliged to delay his march for ſome time. Upon his recovery he obeyed, and had an audience of the emperor at Bahadur Ghur, who had moved there to keep the Ramazan. Seyadut Khan, who had gone out to hunt with a ſmall party from the camp, was made priſoner by a body of the enemy. The emperor at this time was taken dangerouſly ill; upon which the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was called with great haſte from Guzarat to the preſence.

Zoolfeccar Khan with Terbeut Khan, meer atuſh, was ſent with a conſiderable army to retake Kundaneh; and raja Saooh, Sambah's ſon, who had been confined long in the Ruggelah Bar, was delivered over to his cuſtody. Roy Bhan Bhoſſela Mharatta, who had been raiſed to the rank of ſix thouſand, was alſo ſent with him, in hopes that by his means the other chiefs might be prevailed upon to ſubmit and conclude a peace. Zoolfeccar Khan entruſted the guard over Raja Saooh to ſyed Ghuzunfir Khan. The emperor gave inſtructions, that as diſſentions had now broken out among the

Mharattas, letters ſhould be written from Raja Saooh to invite them to ſubmit. This was done, but without effect. Ten thouſand were ſtruck off from the rank of ſultan Kaum Bukhſh, who had been guilty of ſome undutiful behaviour.

Aurungzebe marched from Bahadur Ghur to Ahmednuggur, and on the route the enemy committed great inſults on the line. Hummeed ad Dien Khan was ordered to repulſe them; but he committed the charge to his officers, who were ſoon defeated, and many of them taken priſoners. The enemy then charged the baggage, and carried off a vaſt plunder; but when the emperor's train came in ſight, they, as if ſtruck with awe at the tremendous pomp of majeſty, retired and looked on quietly at a diſtance, which was at this period the greateſt good fortune. The royal camp halted under the walls of Ahmednuggur. Gopal Raow Chanderaowt, being much diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, deſerted to the enemy.

Dhunnah Jadoo, Neema Sindia, and Odoocah Mulhar, with other Mharatta chiefs, ſurrounded the imperial camp at Ahmednuggur, but were bravely repulſed and obliged to fly by Khan Aulum, ſon of Khan Zummaun. Zoolfeecar Khan reduced the fort of Kundaneh, and the beſieged capitulated through the mediation of Ram Sing Harrah, at whoſe requeſt they were allowed to depart in ſafety.

There are above an hundred fine wells in this fort. Munſoor Khan was appointed kelladaar, but proper ſtores of proviſions could not be ſpared for its ſupport; and this was the caſe with all the forts which had been taken in Dekkan, where the long wars and continual depredations had rendered all the neceſſaries of life exceedingly ſcarce. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw arrived from Guzarat at Ahmednuggur, and had an affecting meeting with the emperor.

Ibrahim Khan, ſon of the late Alimerdan Khan, was removed from the government of Caſhmire and appointed to that of Guzarat, of which the prince Bedar Bukht was ordered to take charge until his arrival, and puniſh the rebel Anoomund, who, from being a ſeller of drams, had practiſed robbing, and by his ſucceſſes raiſed himſelf to the command of a large body of banditti, with whom he had joined the Mharattas. This rebel, on the departure of Azim Shaw, finding Guzarat unprotected, had entered the province; where he defeated and took priſoner Nuzzer Ali Khan, the fojedaur of Brodrah, a very wealthy town, inhabited by capital merchants and bankers, whom he plundered of an immenſe booty, and made a ſecure retreat with his prize.

Great bodies of banditti plundered at diſcretion about Aurungabad, and the zemindars of Multan and Tatta rebelled, but were quelled by ſultan Moiz ad Dien, who on this occaſion diſplayed great gallantry and conduct. Khan Aulum was ſent to protect the province of Malwa, and Nijabut Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan were both ordered to drive the enemy from Aurungabad. Zoolfeccar Khan ſent his baggage into Ahmednuggur, and moved by forced marches, but upon his arrival near Payen Ghaut, he learned that the enemy had fled another way to the banks of the Gung. Ghazi ad Dien Khan had remained all this while inactive, only ten coſs from the enemy's camp. Zoolfeccar Khan ſtill purſued them without remiſſion, and at laſt they croſſed the Beemrah into their own diſtricts; upon which, finding the country clear and the rains ſetting in, he returned to the imperial camp. His troops in this purſuit ſuffered every hardſhip from want of proviſions and exceſſive fatigue. He next marched towards the fort of Moorje, upon which Dhunnah croſſed the Kiſtnah. Intelligence arrived, that Ponapah Pinderreh and Hindoo Raow had poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Bilcondah, belonging to Beejapore, and taken the kelladaar priſoner; alſo that the fort of Buſ-

ſunt

ſunt Ghur had fallen into their hands. Daood Khan recovered the former to the imperial poſſeſſion. Seyadut Khan procured his releaſe from the enemy for a large ſum of money, but he was rendered blind of both eyes from the wounds he had received. Zoolfeccar Khan encamped, on account of the rains, within twelve coſs of Moorje, but was ſo diſtreſſed for proviſions that his cavalry became almoſt unfit for ſervice.

When Shaw Jehaun ſent the ſultan Dara Shekkoh againſt Candahar, he gave the ſoldiery two years' pay in advance, and ſent two years of grain with the army. During his whole reign, the ſingle war of the rana was the only one that gave trouble. Aurungzebe's reign had been a continued war, and now, even in the royal camp at Ahmednuggur, notwithſtanding the vicinity of the Kiſtnah, ſcarce any proviſions could be obtained.

Zoolfeccar Khan after the rains purſued Dhunnah, who fled to the Beejapore country, and the khan followed him to the banks of the Kiſtnah. The Pinderrehs took Velore, which however was ſoon again retaken by Terbeut Khan. Sultan Mahummud Akber died this year in Perſia. A great caravan, very rich, coming from Aurungabad was totally plundered, and every thing carried off by a body of Mharattas, at only twelve coſs diſtance from the imperial camp.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhſh was promoted, honoured with preſents, and appointed to the ſoubadary of Beejapore ; a[illegible]at parting, the emperor, weeping, permitted him to beat the nobut from the gate of the palace. The twenty firſt of the ſame month, Zeehidge, the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was diſpatched towards Malwa. Rama's widow, who had great power among the Mharattas, wiſhed to confine Hindoo Raow, but he took refuge in the fort of Koorkul. Dhunnah plundered all his effects, and cloſely beſieged him; upon which he ſent to beg aſſiſtance of Zoolfeccar Khan, who croſſed the Kiſtnah, and, leaving his baggage in the fort of Sundeo, marched againſt Dhunnah, who fled upon his approach, when Hindoo Raow took ſhelter in his own country, and Zoolfeccar Khan then retreated.

A few days after this the emperor was ſeized with his laſt illneſs, which encreaſed every hour, and alarming reports prevailed; till on Friday, the twenty eighth of Zeekaud, in the fiftieth A. H. 1118.
year and ſecond month of his reign, he left this vain life of toil, A. D. 1707.
for one of bliſsful repoſe.

END OF AURUNGZEBE's OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

PART IV.

HISTORY

OF

AURUNGZEBE's SUCCESSORS,

BY

ERADUT KHAN.

APOLOGY.

A GREAT number of the Memoirs of Eradut Khan having been formerly printed off in the year 1786, and ſufficient remaining on hand for the purpoſe, I hope my readers will excuſe their being bound up in the order of connection and time. To my liberal friends, the regular numbering of pages will, I truſt, be of leſs moment than the contents; the reprinting of which would have added very greatly to my expenſe, and but little to their accommodation; eſpecially as Eradut Khan gives a much more ſatisfactory account of tranſactions than any other writer of the ſame period, whom I could have tranſlated in his place.

The following account of the author of the Memoirs is taken from the [*]Maſſer al Amra, or Biography of Nobility, written by Sumſam ad Dowlah Shaw-nowauz Khan, prime miniſter to Sullabut Jung, brother and predeceſſor in power to the preſent Nazim of Dekkan.

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[*] Which I had not ſeen, till favoured with it lately by Mr. R. Johnſon, who, in his reſidency with the nizam at Hyderabad, collected many curious Perſian manuſcripts relative to Dekkan, which he with great liberality has permitted me to make uſe of.

Meer Moobaric Oollah Eradut Khan Wazeh, was the ſon of [a] Iſauk Khan, ſon of Azim Khan. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank. The former was Meer Bukhſhi to the emperor Jehaungeer, and the latter held various offices of importance under Shaw Jehaun and Aulumgeer. He died ſoon after his appointment to the government of Oude. His title was alſo Eradut Khan. One of his ſons (our author) had his title conferred upon him, and in the thirty third year of Aulumgeer was appointed fojedaur of Jagneh, and at other periods, of Aurungabad and Mando in Malwa. In the reign of Shaw Aulum he was governor of the Doab, and the intimate friend of Moazim Khan Vizier. He died in the time of Ferokhſere. His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him. His ſon was honoured by the title of Hoſhedaur Khan, and afterwards with that of Eradut Khan, and the fojedaury of Doohiperayeah in the province of Malwa. In the ſixth year of Mahummud Shaw, he attended Aſoph Jah to Dekkan, and after the victory over Mubariz Khan was appointed dewan of Dekkan, with the rank of four thouſand. He was afterwards governor of Koolburga, and died in the year 1157, [A. D. 1744.] He had many ſons, moſt of whom died in his life time. His eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Hafiz Khan, ſucceeded him in the government of Koolburga, which he held at the time Shaw-nowauz Khan wrote the Biography of the Amras.

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[a] Afterwards entitled Keſſaiut Khan.

TO

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

SIR,

PERMIT me to dedicate this Tranſlation to you, who ſo amply patronized my attempts to make myſelf uſeful to my honourable employers, when in India. The diſtinction you were pleaſed to confer upon me, by an appointment in your family, and the favour of your friendſhip, I ſhall ever regard as honours of which I may reaſonably boaſt: and I truſt a time will come, when far more important pages than mine will acquire merit with the nation, from being adorned with the name of HASTINGS.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient

And grateful humble ſervant,

LONDON,
12th May, 1786.

JONATHAN SCOTT.

E R R A T A.

Page
29, line 20, *for* meſſuage, *read* meſſage.
30, line 24, *for* Raujepoct, *read* Raujpoot.
51, line 2, in the notes, *for* mizid, *read* muzjid.
52, line 10, *for* Bahadar, *read* Bahadur.
54, line 2, *for* Soubadacy, *read* Soubadary.
83, in the notes, *for* Yemmum, *read* Yemmun.
89, line 8, *and* 22, *for* Downan, *and* Dowran, *read* Dowraun;

ORIGINAL

PREFACE.

THUS ſayeth the compiler of theſe records and events, an humble and ſinful ſlave, [1]Moobaric Oollah [2]Eradut Khan [3]Wazeh, ſon of the [4]ſheltered in mercy, [5]Keffaiut Khan, writer of the [6]Shekeſt: When I had finiſhed the [7]Kulmaut Aleeaut, it entered my mind to draw up a conciſe relation of what events had happened to myſelf, while I was compoſing that work.

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[1] Anglicè, Bleſſed of God.

[2] The author's title of nobility, ſignifying The Faithful Lord.

[3] His poetical name, by which he choſe to ſignify himſelf in his poems; Anglicè, Clear. Eaſtern authors always uſe one.

[4] The Muſſulmauns, when mentioning a deceaſed perſon, never ſay ſuch a one who is dead, but ſuch a one ſheltered in mercy, received in pardon, or ſome ſimilar expreſſion. When mentioning a deceaſed prince, they ſay the prince whoſe ſeat is in Paradiſe.

[5] Anglicè, The ſerviceable.

[6] The broken hand, generally uſed in buſineſs.

[7] Anglicè, Sublime Diſcourſes. This work I never could obtain, though I made ſtrict enquiry after it.

I have obſerved, that delightful ſcenes, and the ſociety of friends, are not ſo ſtriking at the time of enjoyment, as afterwards, when reflected in the mirror of recollection. On this account, I write down moſt paſſing occurrences; and whenever I peruſe them, or ruminate upon them, a particular feeling, a ſurpriſing pleaſure and aſtoniſhing extaſy, prevail in my mind. My writings alſo ſerve as a memorial to my friends.

During the ſhort period of my age, which has this day arrived at the ſixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy Hijhera, A.C. 1715. ſuch wonders of time, ſuch aſtoniſhing marks of the power of the Creator of night and day in the viciſſitudes of worldly affairs, the deſtruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houſes and noble families, the fall of worthy men, and riſe of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by hiſtory to have occurred, in ſuch number or ſucceſſion, in a thouſand years.

As, on account of my office, and being engaged in theſe tranſactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the ſources of moſt events, and what, to others, even information of muſt be difficult, was planned and executed in my ſight; and as I was a ſharer, as well as ſpectator, of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

My intention, however, not being to compile a hiſtory of kings, or a flowery work, but only to relate ſuch events as happened within my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a diſplay of learning in lofty phraſes and pompous metaphors, choſen a plain ſtyle, ſuch as a friend, writing to a friend, would uſe for the purpoſe of information. Indeed, if propriety is conſulted, loftineſs of ſtyle is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itſelf, requires only a *ſimple* delineation. I hope, therefore, that my readers will not looſen the reins of impartiality from their hands, nor call my modeſty, ignorance.

TO THE

READER.

IT will be neceſſary to remember, that Aurungzebe is the ſame perſon with Aulumgeer. He took the latter title on his acceſſion to the throne, agreeable to the cuſtom of the eaſtern princes, who always aſſume a new one on that occaſion.

It is hoped that the number of notes will not prove tedious, nor perplex the reader's attention. Some, perhaps, may appear trivial to thoſe whoſe local knowledge renders ſuch aſſiſtance, to them, unneceſſary; but, as their number is comparatively very ſmall with thoſe who require it, the tranſlator requeſts the indulgence of the few, in compliment to the many.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

BY

ERADUT KHAN WAZEH.

I SHALL begin my narration from the time of my removal from the command of the fortreſs of [1] Imteeauz Gur. For the duties of that office I had entertained numerous followers, a tenth of a tenth of whom, the ſuddenneſs of my recall rendered me incapable of paying; but, as my life was yet to remain, I made my [2] eſcape from among them in the beſt manner I could, with my family.

On account of my diſtreſſed circumſtances, and the great diſtance of my late command from the Imperial camp, in order that I might take ſome repoſe, his majeſty had conferred upon me the government of [1] Ahſunabad Koolburgah, where I remained one month; and then, leaving my deareſt ſon, [2] Huddaiut Oolla, as my deputy in that ſtation, I proceeded with a few followers to the [3] Stirrup. I had the honour of an audience in [4] Pargur, while his majeſty was engaged in the reduction of [5] Kundaneh. He ſhewed me much favour, nor had any change taken place in his eſteem and regard towards me. I was ſtationed, during the ſiege, four coſs diſtant from the camp, on the only road of communication then left, as I had been ſucceſsfully employed on the like ſervice, ſince the commencement of the reduction of Dekkan, at [6] Beejapore, [7] Hyderabad, and other places. Though the enemy now was very numerous, and plundered even to the ſkirts of the camp, yet, by the divine aſſiſtance, I maintained my poſt with a very trifling force. For this ſervice, I was honoured with much applauſe by his majeſty, and my reputation with the public became high. Additional rank was alſo conferred, as a reward, on my deareſt ſon, and other relations, at Koolburgah.

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[1] An important fortreſs in Dekkan, or the ſouthern part of Hindoſtan. It is called Oodneh by the Hindoos, and is now in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas, who retook it ſoon after the death of the Emperor Aulumgeer.

[2] To be obliged to fly from their own troops, is frequently the caſe with the nobles of Hindoſtan, on recall from office, or other emergency, as they generally keep up more than they can pay with regularity.

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[1] A city, formerly the capital of the Bhamenee ſovereigns of Dekkan, Feriſhta's Hiſtory of whom, and the ſucceeding Dynaſties, has been tranſlated, and will one day be offered to the public, ſhould their approbation await this attempt. It is now of little note, and in poſſeſſion of the Nizam.

[2] Anglice, directed by God.

[3] Meaning the emperor's perſon, when travelling.

[4] A fortreſs in Dekkin.

[5] Another in ditto.

[6] Once the capital of the Adil Shawee Sultans of Dekkan, and celebrated for its magnificence. It was reduced by Aulumgeer, with all the dependencies, except what the famous Mharatta chief, Sewajee, who was a rebellious vaſſal of this monarchy, had wreſted from it. It is now ruined, and in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas. Europeans have generally written it Viſiapour, but the Muſſulmauns as above.

[7] This city was the capital of Golconda and Koottub Shawee ſultans, the laſt of whom was taken priſoner by Aulumgeer, and his kingdom reduced. It is now one of the capitals of the Nizam, who is however obliged to ſhare the revenues with the Mharattas.

After the reduction of [1] Kundaneh and [2] Raujegur, the emperor moved to another quarter. He had deſired ſeveral of the principal nobility to accept the command of the latter, as it was of importance, and but newly conquered; but it being a poſt only of difficulty, they had all requeſted to be excuſed. One evening therefore he ſent for me, and my ſon [3] Moraud Khan, and when I had entered the preſence, ſaid, "I wiſh to ſend thee to Raujegur, art "thou willing to go?" I replied, that his ſlave was ready; upon which he gave me part of the coffee before him, and ordered that, having drank it in the [4] Aubdar Khauneh, I ſhould come back, and receive my diſmiſſion. When I returned to the preſence, his majeſty gave me his bleſſing, two hundred mhors, and one coin weighing one hundred [5] mhors, with two horſes to me and my ſon, and five for my bretheren. Two hundred bullock loads of grain were alſo ordered with me; and the following day, after morning prayer, I departed. At taking leave, his majeſty promiſed that I ſhould be relieved before the rainy ſeaſon, then about two months diſtant.

By the auſpices of the divine bleſſing, I arrived in ſafety at my ſtation in eight days, and remained there forty; during which, from the ſolitude and romantic ſituation of the place, my leiſure paſſed in pleaſingly enthuſiaſtic contemplation. [6] Munſoor Khan was then ſent to relieve me, and his majeſty wrote with his own hand on the firmaun of recall, that, agreeably to his promiſe, he commanded me to the preſence; to which were added many gracious aſſurances of favour. I left Raujegur with the ſame force I had come; but as it was a great diſtance from the camp, and parties of the enemy were hovering abroad, at ſeveral places I was much preſſed. On my arrival at the preſence, I was received with great favour.

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[1] A fortreſs in Dekkan.

[2] Another in ditto.

[3] Anglicè, object of deſire.

[4] The place in which water, ſherbets, &c. are cooled in ice or ſaltpetre.

[5] Golden coins, of this and greater weight, were often given as marks of favour. Silver coins, of ſeveral hundred rupees value, were alſo in uſe; and there is one of them now in the Britiſh Muſeum, of which the ingenious Mr. Richardſon has given a very full deſcription, in his very learned work, the Perſian and Arabic Dictionary.

[6] Victorious. It is, perhaps, not yet quite unneceſſary to mention, that every proper name or title of perſons, in the Perſian, and frequently in the Hindoo language, is

Being now again in the ſame ſituation as when I quitted Imteeauz Gur, (for my jagheer had been ruined by various depredations,) I was much diſtreſſed in my affairs, when his majeſty, who was informed of every thing public and private, ſent [1] Ameer Khan to me with a meſſage, importing, that, as diſtreſs had invaded my affairs, I had better ſeek a little repoſe in ſome ſettled office, and that he would confer upon me the [2] Kelladaree and [3] Fojedaree of [4] Mandou, then held by [5] Nowazuſh Khan, who, though an ameer of three thouſand, was unequal to the poſt.

My attachment and regard to his majeſty were ſo great, that, obſerving his life verging to the cloſe, I did not wiſh to quit the

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is an epithet deſcriptive of ſome quality in them on whom it is conferred, or the donor ſuppoſes them to poſſeſs: but, of late years, titles of honour are become ſo common, as to loſe their reſpect; and there are many victorious lords of Hindoſtan, who never ſaw a battle, or drew a ſword againſt an enemy.

[1] Noble.

[2] Command of a garriſon.

[3] Military authority in a diſtrict, under which are the criminal courts of juſtice.

[4] A very extenſive fortreſs in the province of Malwa, of which it was the capital under the Patan ſovereigns. It is now much decayed, and in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas.

[5] Poſſeſſing affability.

preſence, fearful of never beholding him more, and therefore declined the offer; but, when my ſon and the women of my family heard of the refuſal, they became immerſed in grief, for the Soubah of Malwa was to them dear as their native place. The diſappointment of my ſon was ſuch, that he privately reſolved to give up the ſervice, and leave me; and my whole family were heartleſs and in deſpair. At length, overcome by their ſituation, and indeed they had juſtice on their ſide, I, in ſpite of my own grief, ſaid to my ſon, "The power is in thy hands; I reſign myſelf as a ranſom for "thy happineſs." The ſoul of my life went the ſame evening to Ameer Khan, and informed him of my acceptance of this office. As that miniſter was pleaſed with my conſenting on many accounts, he repreſented it to the emperor the ſame night, when the affair was ſettled. Alas! how can I expreſs what paſſed within my own breaſt? The following morning, at the [1] aſſembly of juſtice, his majeſty beſtowed upon me a horſe and [2] khelaut, and the ſame upon my ſon and grandſon. It was alſo allowed me, at my particular requeſt, to come daily to pay my reſpects at the preſence, till the grants of my new office could be prepared; and though my poſts of [3] Meer Tozuk and [4] Darogah of the Dekkan cavalry were given to others, yet, from his majeſty's gracious favor, I was permitted to exerciſe the duties of them till I left the camp.

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[1] It was a cuſtom of the Mogul emperors to ſit daily once, for the purpoſe of hearing and redreſſing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this noble uſage was diſcontinued by the ſucceſſors of Aulumgeer, which tended greatly to loſe them the reſpect of their ſubjects.

[2] An honorary dreſs given always to perſons entering into office, and frequently by a ſuperior to an inferior, as a mark of eſteem. It is varied, in richneſs of materials, and number of garments, according to the rank of the receiver.

[3] A marſhal, whoſe buſineſs it is to preſerve order in a proceſſion, or line of march, and to report abſentees.

[4] Superintendant, who examines the number of men and horſes, to check falſe muſters.

On the evening before my departure, the emperor opening the window of his ſleeping apartment, called me to him, and ſaid, "Abſence now takes place between us, and our meeting again is "uncertain. Forgive, then, whatever willingly, or unwillingly, "I may have done againſt thee, and pronounce the words, *I "forgive!* three times, with ſincerity of heart. As thou haſt "ſerved me long, I alſo forgive thee whatever knowingly, or other-"wiſe, thou mayeſt have done againſt me." Upon hearing theſe expreſſions, my ſobs became like a knot in my throat, ſo that I had not power to ſpeak. At laſt, after his majeſty had repeatedly preſſed me, I made ſhift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy ſobs. He ſhed many tears, repeated the words, and, after bleſſing me, ordered me to retire. Sorrow lay ſo heavy upon my mind, that, upon my arrival at [1] Aurungabad, I was ſeized with a violent illneſs; but, as my borrowed life was not yet required, the ſoul and body did not ſeparate. Until my arrival at Mandou, I was unable to move, without help, from my bed to my ſeat. My ſon remained in the fort with me only one night, and then departed for his command at [2] Koterree Perrayeh. I remained one year immerſed in the ſame grief and ſorrow.

The prince Mahummud [3] Bedar Bukht being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my reſpects to him at [4] Oojein. In a ſhort time, ſuch a friendſhip grew between us, that a greater between a prince and ſubject cannot be conceived. He would not be an inſtant without me: he would not eat of any thing, but he ſent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without aſking my advice, and conſidered my opinion as religiouſly deciſive. In ſhort, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but, on this account, I became envied by all his dependants.

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[1] A conſiderable city, founded by Aulumgeer before his acceſſion to the throne, near the celebrated fortreſs of Dowlutabad in Dekkan. He named it Khojeſteh Boonniaud, or The Happy Manſion; but the people called it Aurungabad, in compliment to his title of Aurungzebe, by which Aulumgeer was diſtinguiſhed before he ſeized the empire.

[2] A diſtrict in Malwa.

[3] Signifying wakeful ſtar, or propitious fortune. He was the eldeſt ſon of Azim Shaw.

[4] Suppoſed to be one of the oldeſt cities in India, and is at preſent the capital of Malwa, and of Mahajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief.

Soon after this, the illuſtrious prince Mahummud [1] Azim Shaw, coming from Guzarat to viſit the emperor, paſſed through Malwa, on his route to [2] Ahmednuggur. From the favour he had beheld me in with his father, my attention to himſelf, and the unbounded praiſes of his ſon Bedar Bukht, he behaved to me in ſuch a gracious manner, as to relate would occaſion prolixity. When he had gone through Malwa, the government of Guzarat was conferred on Bedar Bukht, who departed for that province, and took me with him as far as the frontiers, beyond which I dared not paſs without leave from the emperor. How ſhall I expreſs his manner of parting? He made me promiſe to write him weekly, and ſaid, that he would favour me as often with letters under his own hand, including every important occurrence, in order to have the benefit of my advice for his conduct. This ſort of correſpondence was kept up between us regularly, till the life of his majeſty ſhadow [3] of God arrived at an end. I muſt now relate ſome particulars of that important event [4]. A.H. 1118. A.C. 1707. Feb. 21ſt.

The

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[1] Signifying great king. He was the third by birth, but ſecond ſurviving ſon of Aulumgeer.

[2] A conſiderable city of Dekkan, once the capital of the Nizam Shawee ſultans, reduced to the Mogul yoke under Shaw Jehaun, but now under the Mharattas.

[3] An epithet common to majeſty, with all the orientals.

[4] It may not be amiſs to inſert here two letters written by Aulumgeer to his ſons, Azim Shaw and Kaum Bukſh, a few days before his death.

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To

The emperor, a few days before his death, with a ſtrictneſs of command ſeldom to be enforced by monarchs at ſuch a ſeaſon, diſpatched

To Shaw Azim Shaw.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakneſs ſubdues me, and ſtrength has forſaken all my members. I came a ſtranger into this world, and a ſtranger I depart. I know nothing of myſelf, what I am, and for what I am deſtined. The inſtant which paſſed in power, hath left only ſorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been paſſed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conſcience,) but his glorious light was unſeen by my dim ſight. Life is not laſting; there is no veſtige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are loſt. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but ſkin and bone. My ſon, (Kaum Bukſh,) though gone towards Beejapore, is ſtill near; and thou, my ſon, art yet nearer. The worthy of eſteem, Shaw Aulum, is far diſtant; and my grandſon, (Azeem Ooſhaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindoſtan. The camp and followers, helpleſs and alarmed, are, like myſelf, full of affliction, reſtleſs as the quickſilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a maſter or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my ſalvation, and with what torments I may be puniſhed. Though I have ſtrong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my veſſel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my ſons are indiſpenſably incumbent. Give my laſt prayers to my grandſon, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot ſee, but the deſire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The fooliſh thoughts of women produce nothing but diſappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince Kaum Buksh.

MY ſon, neareſt to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permiſſion, I gave you advice, and took with you the greateſt pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a ſtranger, and lament my own inſignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my ſins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deſerted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I ſee nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myſelf. My back is bent with weakneſs, and my feet have loſt the powers of motion.

diſpatched the prince Azim Shaw towards Malwa, and Kaum Bukſh to his government of Beejapore. His reaſon for this proceeding was, that no feuds might ariſe upon his death, in an enemy's country, between his ſons, to endanger the repoſe of his ſubjects. Had the two princes remained together in the camp, ſuch would have been the caſe, as occurred afterwards on the death of Shaw Aulum, whoſe four ſons were together in the camp, when, though not in an enemy's country, the families, fortunes and honour of a world became plunged in the depth of ruin.

Azim Shaw, though knowing the dangerous illneſs of his father, dared not diſobey the orders of march. He departed from the camp, but his motions were ſlow and cautious; nor did the emperor preſs him to expedition, after the three firſt marches. He

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The breath which roſe, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what puniſhments I may be ſeized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent alſo on the faithful, and my ſons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the conſequence may be gueſſed. The guardianſhip of a people is the truſt by God committed to my ſons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are ſlain, or their miſeries fall upon my head. I reſign you, your mother and ſon, to God, as I myſelf am going. The agonies of death come upon me faſt. Bahadur Shaw is ſtill where he was, and his ſon is arrived near Hindoſtan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Niſſa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of ſorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illneſs, and wiſhes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domeſtics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet muſt not be ill-treated. It is neceſſary to gain your views by gentleneſs and art. Extend your feet no lower than your ſkirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much judgment and good underſtanding, ſettled large penſions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever diſcontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiſs, nor remember what offences I have done to yourſelf; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has ſeen the departure of his own ſoul; but I ſee that mine is departing.

even ſaid to [1] Hummeed ad dien Khan, to whom he had committed the charge of his funeral rites, " Three days after my death, one " of my ſons will arrive in camp, and ſend my remains to Aurun-" gabad in a proper manner." A. H. 1118. A. C. 1707. Feb. 21ſt. On Friday the twenty-eighth of Zeekaud, his majeſty performed his morning devotions in company with his attendants; after which, as was frequently his cuſtom, he exclaimed, " O that my death may happen on a Friday, for " bleſſed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after, he had occaſion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun the [2] tiummum, as was always his cuſtom till water for the [3] wuzzoo could be brought, and had made one ſprinkling, when ſuddenly his moſt pure ſpirit fled from the narrowneſs of corporeal confinement, to the boundleſs expanſion of the Moſt High. We are from God, and to God we muſt return. His hands remained claſped, and in motion, for ſome time after he had ceaſed to breathe. How can I expreſs my own feelings? This much I know, that the kindneſs, favour and diſtinction, for fifty years, of that atom-cheriſhing ſun to me, his humble ſlave, his great actions, his glory, his piety, his perſeverance in virtue from youth to age, the revolutions of his reign, and all the wonderful events of time, ruſhed upon my memory at once in a ſea of grief, and overwhelmed my heart, ſo that I forgot myſelf, and knew not what paſſed around me.

Azim Shaw, being informed of the event by his agents, and the nobles who affected to embrace his intereſt, arrived on the third of [1] Zeehudge at the camp at Ahmednuggur. He omitted no ſhew of affection and reſpect to his deceaſed father, but, like the orphans of thoſe in humble life, ſhed many tears.

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[1] Anglicè, Aider of the faith.

[2] A purification by ſprinkling of duſt over the body, ordered by Mahummud for the convenience of his followers inhabiting the dry deſerts of Arabia, where water is too valuable for the poor to uſe on ſlight occaſions.

[3] Ditto with water.

Many of the chief imperial ſervants, as [2] Muttullub Khan, [3] Khoddabundeh Khan, [4] Terbeut Khan, and others, had a real attachment to Azim Shaw. Some neither loved or hated him; and a few, though they diſliked, yet, from inability to oppoſe, prudently ſubmitted to his authority. Three Mogul chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance, [5] Feeroze Jung, his ſon Cheen Koollich Khan, and [6] Mahummud Ameen Khan.

On the tenth of Zeehuge, 1118, Azim Shaw aſcended the throne of empire amidſt the uſual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their ſtations, but on few in a manner affording ſatisfaction. Here I muſt be permitted to mention one or two inſtances of the wonderful accompliſhment of the decrees of Providence. While he was only a prince, moſt of the nobility were attached to Azim Shaw, and regarded him as poſſeſſing every approved quality for empire; but almoſt immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, the general opinion was altered, from his own conduct. He ſlighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parſimony to the army, acting as if he had no occaſion for their ſervices. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppoſe him, and that his elder brother, Shaw Aulum, relinquiſhing A.C. 1707.

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[1] The twelfth month of the Arabian year.

[2] Anglicè, Object of the wiſh.

[3] Slave of God.

[4] Accompliſhed in manners and morals.

[5] Fortunate in war.

[6] Faithful in Mahummud.

quiſhing to him ſuch a vaſt empire as Hindoſtan, without a ſtruggle, would fly for ſafety to another clime. At the ſame time, he openly declared his jealouſy of his own ſon, Bedar Bukht, whoſe favour with the late emperor had diſpleaſed him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would ſay publicly, that they were not fit for his ſervice. He removed Terbeut Khan, a veteran and loyal general, from his command of the artillery, in the moſt inſulting manner, without any notice, and conferred that important ſtation on a young man of low rank among his creatures. In ſhort, I cannot enumerate all the ill omens to the fortune of Azim Shaw, which proved the will of Providence to have decreed heaven beſtowed empire to Shaw Aulum. He who prideth in himſelf is ruined. When the will of God hath decreed an event, all things aid the accompliſhment.

Mahummud Kaum Bukſh received intelligence of the emperor's death, on his third day's march from Ahmednuggur, and was immediately deſerted by Mahummud Ameen Khan, and all the Tooraunee Moguls, though they had been purpoſely appointed for his protection, at this criſis, by Aulumgeer. In addition to this miſfortune, [1] Zoolfeccar Khan, his bittereſt enemy, who had once confined him at the ſiege of [2] Iinjee, lay in his route with a conſiderable army, ſo that it was probable his perſon would be ſeized by this nobleman, in order to obtain the favour of the new emperor. Azim Shaw had diſpatched orders to that effect; but Zoolfeccar Khan, either from policy or compaſſion, did not obey them, and Kaum Bukſh arrived in ſafety at Beejapore, which he was allowed to keep, as his brother, being eager to quit Dekkan, did not endeavour to remove him.

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[1] Anglicè, Lord of the deſtroying weapon. This was the name of a ſcymetar belonging to Ali, ſon-in-law to the prophet.

[2] A celebrated fortreſs in the Carnatic.

Azim Shaw now proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra, by regular ſtages, as if the principal of a caravan, and taking the route of Toomree, quitted the broad and eaſy road of Akberpore, on his left; proving, by this imprudent ſtep, that, when deſtiny is unfavourable, man always doeth that which is wrong. The route of Toomree was hilly, full of woods, and, for many long ſpaces, void of water; ſo that, during two days march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals, periſhed through fatigue and thirſt. It was remarked by numbers, at the time, that this foreboded evil to the fortune of Azim Shaw; for he had raſhly neglected the example of his father Aulumgeer, who, when marching againſt [1] Dara Shekkoh, had choſen the route of Akberpore.

I muſt now return to the affairs of Bedar Bukht, whom it was my fortune to join. This prince, on the death of Aulumgeer, received orders from his father, Azim Shaw, to march immediately from Guzarat, and proceed towards Lahore, to prevent the advance of Shaw Aulum from Cabul. Bedar Bukht had the greateſt and moſt ſincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him; and on that account the father and ſon became jealous of each other. Upon receipt of the melancholy news, he was overwhelmed with real grief, which dwelt long upon his mind; for, when I ſaw him afterwards at Oojein, he would frequently weep at recollection of his loſs. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Guzarat without delay, at the head of only three thouſand horſe, his own dependants, and carried with him about thirty lacks of rupees in treaſure, property of his own, not preſuming to touch [1] twenty lacks in the Imperial treaſury, leſt it ſhould raiſe ſuſpicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the ſame reaſon, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with eaſe have raiſed a great army, and might have procured a [2] corore of rupees from the bankers and renters, by way of loan, without oppreſſion, as did [3] Moraud Bukſh, when he marched from this province againſt Dara Shekkoh.

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[1] A moſt excellent and authentic account of this prince's adventures and misfortunes may be ſeen in Bernier's Travels, which are bound up in Churchill's and Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. Dow alſo details them; but I prefer Bernier's account, as more artleſs.

On the eve of his march, he diſpatched a letter to me and ſeveral others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers, who had orders to ſearch all meſſengers, and inſpect letters. As the prince expected me on the frontiers of Malwa, he was much diſappointed on his arrival there, and repeatedly exclaimed, "What can have happened, "to prevent the coming of Eradut Khan?" My enemies, and ſeveral envious perſons, took occaſion to defame me, ſaying, that I would never join him; for, knowing the jealouſy between him and his father, who was now emperor, I was gone to court his favour. In this manner did my enemies addreſs him, till he arrived near Oojein; when, not finding me there, in ſpite of his regard and reliance upon me, ſuſpicion found room in his mind of my fidelity.

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[1] Two hundred thouſand pounds.

[2] One million ditto.

[3] Anglicè, Accompliſher of the wiſh. Youngeſt ſon of the emperor Shaw Jehaun, and brother to Aulumgeer, who, having made uſe of him to attain the defeat of his elder brothers, confined him in the fortreſs of Gualiar, and afterwards had him put to death, on his being tried and condemned for murder, on the accuſation of a dependant, whoſe father he had executed for ſome crime, when in power. Aulumgeer was obliged to diſplace the firſt judge before whom the cauſe was brought, as he refuſed to give ſentence, ſaying, that a prince putting a man to death in the exerciſe of his authority, for a crime, ought not to be accounted murder.

At

A.H. 1119.
A.C. 1707.

At length, on the firſt of [1] Mohirrim, the prince's letters were brought me altogether, and immediately after, having loaded a ſmall tent and ſome neceſſaries on two trained camels, I departed from Mandou, leaving the fortreſs in charge of my dear relation and friend, Meer Sunjir.

The prince had been for ſome time encamped near Oojein, waiting for the lucky day to make his entry into that city, ſo that by chance I reached the camp at the inſtant of good fortune. He was moving in his [2] nallekee towards the town, when he perceived me at a diſtance, and ſaid to his attendants, "Is not that Eradut "Khan that I ſee?" And was ſcarcely anſwered, when I came up. He ſtopped his train, and opening wide his arms, cried, "Come, "come my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been "ſtretched, even to dimneſs." I kiſſed his feet, and preſented my offering. He preſſed my head to his boſom, and taking off his [3] neem-aſteen, put it on my ſhoulders. His firſt words were lamentations mingled with tears, for the deceaſed emperor his grandfather, for whom he knew the ſincerity of my grief. He then ordered me to mount my horſe, and ride near him; and, as we proceeded to the city, related all that had happened to himſelf, and his anxiety at not meeting me on the borders of the province. When I had ſatisfied him for my delay, he commanded thoſe who had ſpoken againſt me to quit his preſence, with much diſpleaſure, and refuſed to admit them again for many days.

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[1] The firſt month of the Arabian year.

[2] A canopied litter peculiar to the princes, and allowed now and then to ſome few great officers of ſtate. It is generally of rich materials, and often entirely of ſilver. It is carried on the ſhoulders of twelve or ſixteen bearers, on three poles, one on each ſide, like our ſedans, and the third running under the middle of the machine.

[3] An upper robe with half-ſleeves, commonly made of gold or ſilver tiſſue. For a prince, or perſon of high rank, to confer any part of his own dreſs on an inferior, is accounted a very great honour to the receiver.

Bedar Bukht did not remain in the palace of Oojein; but, after viewing the city, pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a coſs diſtant. Here he was attended by [1] Abdoollah Khan, the ſoubadar of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days, expecting the arrival of his father, when that raſh prince wrote him the following firmaun:

"Why have you not haſtened on, nor ſunk the boats in the
" [2] Suttulludge, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though
" he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Soon after my arrival in camp, the prince ſent a [3] Niſhaun, with the following words in his own hand, to my dear ſon [4] Huddaiut Oollah Khan, then Fojedaur of a diſtrict of about two days journey from Oojein.

"Your father, one of my moſt eſteemed dependants, attends
" the ſtirrup. I am ſurprized that you have not as yet come to the
" preſence."

My ſon, in reply, wrote to the prince, that he ſhould ſhortly ſeek the honour of an audience; but privately to me, deſiring that I would repreſent to his highneſs, what reſpect would not permit him to mention himſelf. This was, that though I had no force under me, yet my attendance and advice might be of uſe; but that he, unleſs at the head of troops, could do no ſervice; that he had then with him two thouſand veteran ſoldiers, all his followers for twenty years, who would accompany him without the limits of his government. Of theſe he had ſent a return to the prince, whom he would immediately attend, on the advance of a month's pay to enable him to march; but without that they muſt be excuſed.

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[1] Slave of God.

[2] One of the five great rivers between Cabul and Lahore.

[3] The letters of the emperor are ſtyled firmauns, thoſe of princes, niſhauns.

[4] Directed by God.

His highneſs, in anſwer to this meſſage, ſaid to me, "To give "Huddaiut Oollah this ſum, or much greater, I would not heſitate; but, alas! ſhould I call in ſuch a force, as your attachment "to me has been repreſented to my father in a ſuſpicious view by "intereſted perſons, he would inſtantly, on the junction of your "ſon's troops, be convinced of my diſloyalty, and turn his arms "from Shaw Aulum againſt me. Write this to your ſon." I did ſo; and he declined coming to the camp, writing to me the following words: "I reſign you to the protection of a gracious "God, ſince I am prevented by my ill-fortune from paying my "duty in perſon. I wiſh you could leave the party with which "you are engaged, as I ſee deſtiny will to it prove unfavorable." God be praiſed, that from his prudent caution, my dear ſon remained ſecure from the enſuing troubles.

Bedar Bukht, agreeable to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the preſence by Zoolfeccar Khan, Ram Sing Harrah, zemindar of [1] Koteh, and Dulput [2] Bonedela, alſo Amaun Oolla Khan, who were ſent by Azim Shaw, as much to guard the prince's motions as to aſſiſt him. [1] Meerza Raja Jey Sing, [2] Khan Aulum a Dekkan chief, with his brother [3] Munnower Khan, and other officers, alſo joined from the preſence, with about ſix thouſand horſe.

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[1] A principal zemindary in Malwa, now much circumſcribed by the Mharattas, who allow the raja, a deſcendant of Ram Sing's, but a very ſmall proportion of his lands.

[2] The Bonedela tribe of Rajapootes are the poſſeſſors of Bonedelcund, an extenſive tract, lying partly in the Agra, and partly in the province of Allahabad. Their proper chief, the raja of Oorcha, deſcended from Ber Sing Deo, the founder of the family importance, poſſeſſes but little territory, far the greateſt part having been wreſted from his houſe by Chutterſaul, one of a younger branch of the Bonedelas, whoſe deſcendants now hold his eſtates jointly with the Mharattas, who have a third part of the lands, and produce of the diamond mines of Pirna.

The prince [4] Mahummud Azeem Ooſhawn, who had, by Aulumgeer's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the preſence, had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of the emperor's deceaſe; upon which he marched to ſecure that city for his father, Shaw Aulum. [5] Mukhtar Khan, the ſoubadar, who was attached to Azim Shaw, and father-in-law to Bedar Bukht, hoping to impede his progreſs, ſunk all the boats in the Jumna, and placed guards at the neareſt fords. But, alas! what power had ſuch a vaſſal to face the ſon of his decreed ſovereign? The prince moved higher up, and having croſſed the river, took him priſoner; but regarding his former ſervices, and thoſe of his family, did not offer him perſonal injuries. It had as yet been the uſage of the princes of this illuſtrious houſe, though a nobleman according to his connections with one of them, appeared againſt another in the field, that the victor did not put him to death, or diſgrace him. On the contrary, the fidelity and valour diſplayed by him, in the cauſe of a defeated rival, were ſure recommendations to the conqueror's favour. The princes knew that the ſtability of power and regulation of empire reſted on the ſupport of an experienced nobility, and they would frequently obſerve, "that their "enmity was not to the throne; for whenever a prince became "fixed upon it, they were faithful ſubjects. If then we deſtroy "them, through whom can we adminiſter the government." By this wiſe policy of the Imperial family, the rules and order of the extenſive empire of Hindoſtan remained uninjured by the quarrels of the princes.—But to return to my ſubject.

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[1] Zemindar of a conſiderable territory in the province of Ajmere, named Ambeer; but ſince this prince's founding a new city called Jeypore, the rajaſhip has alſo taken that name. Jeypore is reckoned the moſt regular built city in Hindoſtan; and Europeans, who have ſeen it, ſpeak highly of its magnificence. Jey Sing was a great encourager of ſcience, and built ſeveral obſervatories for aſtronomical ſtudies. He alſo erected a caravanſerai and market in every province of Hindoſtan, for the convenience of travellers, at his own expence. The preſent raja of Jeypore, his grand-nephew, poſſeſſes the city, but not much territory, part of which has been ſeized by vaſſals of his family, and part by the Mharattas and Mogul chiefs, to both of whom he is tributary. Jeypore is the great mart for horſes from Perſia and the northern provinces of Hindoſtan; and the old citadel of Ambeer, cloſe to it, is ſaid to contain vaſt wealth laid up by Jey Sing. This will probably one day fall into the hands of the Mharattas, if they are not ſoon diverted from their operations in this part of India, by troubles in Dekkan, that ſhall furniſh them employment nearer home.

[2] Anglicè, Lord of the world.

[3] Enlightened lord

[4] Anglicè, Of high dignity; ſecond ſon of Shaw Aulum, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Aulumgeer.

[5] Anglicè, Powerful lord.

When Mahummud Bedar Bukht approached the banks of the [1]Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived near [2]Gualiar, Azeem Ooſhawn detached a conſiderable body from Agra, under [3]Motuſhum Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar Bukht was fond of enterprize, jealous of his honour, and of high mind tempered with prudence. A rivalſhip for glory had always ſubſiſted between him and his father, Azim Shaw, who was of raſh courage, and never looked beyond the preſent in his conduct. Like the [4]whiſker-twiſting vaunters of Hindoſtan, if his ſon made any delay on his march, he would jeſt and ſneer, attributing it to cowardice, and dread of the enemy. On this account, Bedar Buhkt reſolved to croſs the Chumbul immediately, and attack the poſts of Motuſhum Khan; but this proceeding was ſtrongly oppoſed by Zoolfeccar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct; upon which a ſtrange contention took place, which is worthy of relation.

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[1] A river in the province of Agra.

[2] One of the moſt celebrated fortreſſes of Hindoſtan, an elegant plate of which, with the account of its capture by a detachment under colonel Popham, in 1780, has been given to the public by major Rennell; but another, on a larger ſcale, with a more minute deſcription of the place, is now preparing by the ingenious Mr. W. Hodges, well-known for his drawings under Captain Cook, and for his views of places in India, taken by himſelf on the ſpot.

[3] Dignified.

[4] The twiſt of the whiſkers in India, and the outrageous cock of the hat in England, are alike characteriſtic.

A number of low-minded perſons, vain and imprudent, ſuch as are too frequently the favorites of princes, who thought themſelves capable antagoniſts for the nobility of Azeem Oſhawn, regarding this as a fit opportunity to ſhew their loyalty and attachment, interfered in the conduct of affairs. As Zoolfeccar Khan, in the opinion of ſome, was ſuſpected of treachery, they ſeized this occaſion to perſuade the prince that he correſponded with Shaw Aulum, and wiſhed to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his deſigns of deſertion to his cauſe. God only knows the heart, and perhaps it might have been ſo; but, in the eye of underſtanding, good policy alone ſeemed to influence his conduct in this affair.

When he was informed that the prince had reſolved on croſſing the river the next morning, he repeatedly repreſented, through the proper officers, that ſuch a ſtep was by no means adviſeable at the preſent criſis; but the prince refuſed to take his opinion. Upon this, Zoolfeccar Khan went himſelf to his highneſs's tents, and requeſted an audience, ſetting forth, that he had affairs of importance to communicate; but the prince would not admit him, and ſent word, that nightly council was unlucky, therefore he muſt wait till the morning. I had heard of Zoolfeccar Khan's advice during the day, and of the prince's diſſent, but knew not what had paſſed at night; for I made it a rule never to go to his councils, unleſs called upon; and his highneſs had never failed, till now, to ſend for me. It happened, that I had been this day to viſit Zoolfeccar Khan, at his earneſt requeſt, but not a word on the affair in debate paſſed between us. Some envious perſons, however, took this occaſion to perſuade the prince, that I was a partner with the general; and, notwithſtanding his conviction of my fidelity, his highneſs, in his preſent humour, believed them. Hence it is, that the ancients obſerved, "We ſhould never rely on the favour of "princes; for when their minds are diſguſted, though without "cauſe, a thouſand years of confidence may be deſtroyed in one "inſtant of ſuſpicion."

The day following, ſuddenly, before morning prayer, the march of battle was ſounded, and the prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of action. I was at my devotions, when I heard the drums; but dreſſing myſelf in haſte and aſtoniſhment, I ſpeeded to attend him. He had moved ſome diſtance from the tents before I came up. I found him, with an angry countenance, and contemptuous exclamation, uttering reproachful terms of Zoolfeccar Khan, as deceiver, traitor, falſe wretch, and the like, to ſome ſervile attendants round his elephant; but, on perceiving me, he became ſilent, and looked more diſpleaſed. According to cuſtom, I alighted from my horſe to make my obeiſance, of which he took no notice, nor ſpoke, nor ſmiled upon me as he was wont to do, but turned his head another way. Though much hurt at this ſlight, I took my ſtation as uſual on his right hand, cloſe to the ear of his elephant, and ruminated on the change in his behaviour, while my enemies, who during the night had formed this [1] teliſm, were rejoicing all around at my diſtreſs. Though his highneſs did not ſpeak to them after my arrival, yet I judged, by their exulting, and winking to one another, that ſomewhat highly pleaſing to them had happened.

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[1] Charm, or taliſman.

Juſt then, Zoolfeccar Khan ſent an officer to requeſt I would attend him; for he hoped that, at my deſire, the prince would alter his intention of paſſing the river. I informed his highneſs of the officer's coming, for I never viſited any of the nobility without permiſſion. Upon this, he angrily exclaimed, "Go! [*]Your "quiver alſo hangs at his belt!" I then deſired the officer to return, and tell what he had heard, as I could not go; but the prince, with a furious aſpect, cried out, "Be gone! Why don't "you go to your friend?" At beholding this, a giddineſs ſeized my brain, and I became diſtracted; for I never expected ſuch words from him, whoſe favour I thought ſincere, and prided myſelf on deſerving, by my fidelity. I became raging, raſh, and impetuous, and ſaid, "What buſineſs can I, the humbleſt of the "humble, have with nobles of Zoolfeccar's exalted rank? He "was the firſt general of your grandfather; but your father has "now detached him under your command, and certainly the "power is at preſent in your hands, to treat him as you pleaſe." His highneſs, upon this, more angrily than ever, exclaimed, "Surely the emperor hath not made you my tutor!" What ſhall I ſay? Heaven and earth ſeemed to fall at once upon my ſhoulders, and I wiſhed to die that inſtant; but theſe words involuntarily ſlipped from my tongue: "What is my ability, to become tutor to a prince like your highneſs? Yet, ſhould the truſt "be offered me, I would rather fly from ſociety with a ſhorn head, "than accept it." To this he made no reply, and I quitted his perſon without ceremony.

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[*] An idiomatical expreſſion, ſignifying that he was attached to his party.

I had not gone far, when the generous, forbearing, patient and benevolent prince, cheriſher of his friends, ſent to me the [1] daroga of his khowaus, to ſay, as from himſelf, "What troubleſome "dreams hath my friend ſeen, to diſorder his imagination, and "make him rave? Know you not, that ſpies have prejudiced my "father againſt you, as my adviſer? Therefore, as much con"tention paſſed laſt night, between me and Zoolfeccar Khan, and "I have juſt now inſulted that deceitful traitor, I ſpoke angrily to "you alſo, to remove ſuſpicion of my treatment of him proceeding "from your counſel, not ſuppoſing you could miſapprehend me." Upon this, I ſtopped till the prince came up, when he called me to him, and ſmiling, whiſpered in my ear, "I have beheld your "deep penetration." I replied, "I did not expect ſuch expreſſions "from your highneſs." He anſwered, "I alſo wiſhed to try "your patience, my friend, who pretend to ſo much prudence, "with ſuch heat and paſſion." Having ſaid this, he took from his neck a large cornelian of [2] Yemmun, on which were engraved ſome prayers in a beautiful character, and giving it to me, ſaid aloud, "Admire this graving!" at the ſame time nodding that I ſhould keep it; but I returned it, ſignifying privately, that the gift was improper before ſo many envious witneſſes. At length, my late exulting and mean-ſpirited enemies, ſeeing me again in favour, retired to a diſtance, and left me to converſe with his highneſs; who then ſaid, "Surely you muſt have forgotten what my "father wrote to me, concerning you, three days ſince, and my "anſwer to his majeſty!" That affair I will relate.

The prince had three days before received a firmaun under his father's own hand, and I went with him to meet it, agreeable to cuſtom. About midnight, he ſent for me again, and carried me into the ſleeping apartment of his [1] mahal, where he had been ſitting with the mother of [2] Bedar Dil, who retired as I came in, to another chamber. He gave me the firmaun, and deſired me to read it. In it was written, in Azim Shaw's own hand, the following ſentence: "You are day and night conſulting with Eradut Khan; "I wiſh to know for what purpoſe!" When I had returned the paper, his highneſs aſked what was fit to write in anſwer.

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[1] Overſeer of domeſtic attendants.

[2] Arabia Felix.

I replied, "I am your ſervant. Diſmiſs me for the preſent, "and when my duty is requiſite, I will inſtantly return." He exclaimed, "You muſt not leave me; but ſome anſwer muſt be "written. I will attempt one; but you muſt alſo compoſe "another, and we will ſend that we both approve." He then gave me pen, ink and paper, from his ſtandiſh, and ſeated me at a lamp. He wrote, and I wrote. When we had finiſhed, it appeared, on compariſon, that we had both written the ſame, almoſt without the difference of a word, as follows:

"It muſt be remembered in the ſacred mind, that your majeſty, "in paſſing through Malwa to the preſence of the [3] Shadow of "God, ſaid to your ſlave, *Eradut Khan is our houſehold ſervant,* "*truly loyal, wiſe and experienced. I give him to you, that, when* "*important affairs ſhall come in agitation, you may conſult with him.* "Health to your majeſty! What criſis of affairs can be more im-"portant than the preſent? According to the orders founded in "benevolence, I do conſult with him daily, on all affairs public "and private. I know not what ſuſpicions thoſe admitted to the "preſence may have formed of this faithful ſervant, but, were "they communicated to me, I could remove them to the ſatisfac-"tion of your majeſty."

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[1] The ladies apartments.

[2] His ſon; Anglicè, Vigilant mind.

[3] The emperor Aulumgeer.

The prince applauded me much, and ſaid, "with this able "judgement and the ſimilarity of our diſpoſitions, how can I "avoid giving you my eſteem?" But to be ſincere in this affair, juſtice was on the ſide of Azim Shaw; for Bedar Bukht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the ſervice of Azim Shaw, nor had ever made him profeſſions of duty, being wholly devoted to his ſon.

Being alone with him one night, he ſuddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breaſt, ſaid, "If a ſovereign and parent ſeeks the life of a ſon, and that ſon is "truly informed of his intention, how ſhould he act in ſelf-"defence? Have you a precedent for it?"

I replied, "Such a queſtion is unneceſſary. The behaviour of "your [1] grandfather to his father is a ſufficient precedent; and "ſovereigns are forced to expedients which are not juſtifiable in "other men."

Converſation of this ſort often paſſed between us; and one evening he aſked me, how he might gain an opportunity of ſeizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus: When "he has gained the victory over Shaw Aulum, you will be the "firſt to congratulate him. The troops will then be ſeparated "here and there in ſearch of plunder, or looking after the dead "and wounded; and, as the tents will not be ready, your father "will be only under a [2] ſhaumianeh, ſurrounded by a few [3] kanauts.

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[1] Alluding to Aulumgeer's dethronement of Shaw Jehaun.

[2] A canopy of cotton cloth.

[3] Walls of cotton cloth, which are always pitched round the tents of all who can afford them. The principal chiefs have them, encloſing ground of a great extent round theirs. They have a very ſplendid appearance. Bernier gives a good deſcription of a Mogul camp, to which the curious may refer.

"You will be admitted to audience, attended by ſuch of your fol-
"lowers as may have deſerved notice in the action by their gallant
"conduct; and, at ſuch a time, they will be allowed their arms.
"It is probable your father will not have many perſons with him
"between the kanauts. Then is your time." The prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have ſpoken well! Dare you, at ſuch a time,
"ſtrike the blow?"

I replied, that though the act was eaſy, yet a ſacred oath reſted upon our family never to ſhed the blood of a prince unleſs by chance in battle, if engaged in the cauſe of a rival, when it would be excuſable. I then ſaid, "Your other opportunity will be thus:
"ſhould the enemy fly, an army will be ſent in purſuit, and pro-
"bably under your command, while your father, ſetting his mind
"at eaſe, will be employed, without ſuſpicion, in pleaſure and
"rejoicing. You may return ſuddenly upon him, and gain your
"wiſhes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldeſt
"ſon and have ſeen much ſervice, he will certainly appoint you to
"the government of Dekkan. You will have then a powerful
"army at your diſpoſal. As your father's behaviour is diſguſtful
"to the people, and many of the courtiers diſlike him, they will
"aid your pretenſions. Uſe open force, and try for whom God
"will decide."

Bedar Bukht, having croſſed the Chumbul at an unobſerved ford, the troops of Azeem Ooſhaun, who were ſtationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery in the various poſts, and fled to Agra, happy to ſave their lives. Zoolfeccar, who had adviſed the prince to remain on the other ſide, ſeeing he had croſſed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his march. This ſubmiſſion pleaſing his highneſs, he reſolved on the morrow to honour him with a viſit, in order to atone for his late behaviour. Zoolfeccar Khan, hearing of his intention, ſent a meſſage to me, deſiring that I would perſuade him to lay it aſide, as his highneſs's viſit would occaſion various reports, and the cauſe be inſerted in the intelligence of the ſpies, with remarks that would injure the prince and himſelf in the opinion of Azim Shaw.

I was preparing to execute the commiſſion; but before I could leave my tent, Zoolfeccar Khan paſſed by, having reſolved to go himſelf to the prince. Begging pardon for his boldneſs, he preſented a [1] garland of flowers to his highneſs, who, ſoftened with his humility, ſhewed him more favour than was conſiſtent with his own dignity. It was a rule of Aulumgeer's, never to ſhew ſuch condeſcenſion to the nobility, as to make them think themſelves too neceſſary to him, but he conducted himſelf ſo as to be held in reſpectful veneration by thoſe even neareſt his perſon. Certain it is, that too much humility in a ſovereign loſes him the object for which it is aſſumed. The prince, having honoured him with the robe he had on, and a rich [2] ſirpeach of jewels, diſmiſſed him with numerous profeſſions of kindneſs.

Zoolfeccar Khan the ſame evening made another viſit, when I only was ſitting with the prince, and thus began to offer his advice: "Since your highneſs has croſſed the river, as the prince Azeem "Ooſhaun is near, it is proper to march towards him immediately, "leſt your father ſhould conceive evil ſuſpicions, or the army

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[1] Garlands made of the chumbeely, a ſort of double jaſmine, are always introduced with the betel at entertainments, and preſented to the gueſts; alſo taſſels of the ſame for the turban, and ſometimes leaves of gold and ſilver foils, are interwoven with the flowers.

[2] The ſirpeach is a jewel for the turban. A kulghee, or egret, is generally worn with it.

" ſuppoſe that you fear to engage him." The prince did not anſwer him, but nodding to me, ſaid, " Have you heard what he " obſerved?" I replied, " Yes; and he is an experienced general " and faithful ſervant; yet there are ſome points to be conſidered. " Though engaging Azeem Ooſhaun is no hazardous enterprize, " yet he is alſo a prince; and if, now your highneſs has croſſed " the river to meet him, he does not march this way, the reproach " of delay will reſt on him. Let us conſider alſo who is neareſt to " us, Azim Shaw, or Shaw Aulum. If the former, let us march: " yet Azeem Ooſhaun, if defeated, has the city of Agra for a refuge, to reduce which muſt require ſome days. His father may " alſo arrive with his vaſt army, ſaid to be an hundred thouſand " horſe, and he has already with him thirty thouſand. If Zoolfeccar Khan judges he can, without the aid of your father, " engage theſe two armies, and a prince of Shaw Aulum's experience and valour, what can we dread? Let us march." Zoolfeccar Khan, in reply to this, only ſaid, as was his manner when pleaſed, " Good! good! good! He hath ſpoken well."

Some days after this, Azim Shaw approaching near, Bedar Bukht moved a coſs in front, the ſpot he was upon being choſen for his father's tents; and the morning of his arrival, went two coſs from the camp to meet him. Azim Shaw loved him as a ſon, though, from the attention ſhewn him by Aulumgeer, he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him, after long abſence, paternal fondneſs for the inſtant overcame his jealouſy, and he received him with ſtrong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely khelaut, with the [1] chaurkub, a ſword ſet with jewels, elephants and horſes. The prince, after the interview, aſked me if I would not pay my reſpects to his father: to which I replied, that I did not wiſh it, having no deſire to engage his notice, or embrace his ſervice; but, upon his obſerving that my declining it would occaſion much ſuſpicion, I conſented, and was introduced. Azim Shaw, upon ſeeing me, ſaid, “ Are you alſo come?” I replied, “ Yes, “ but without orders. I left my ſtation, though far diſtant from “ the route of your majeſty. Who elſe has done ſo?” He conferred the uſual khelaut upon me, and gave orders for my being employed.

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[1] An upper robe, never conferred but on princes of the royal family, the vizier of the empire, and Ameer al Amra.

Empire having been decreed to Shaw Aulum, from the agency of deſtiny, ſuch vanity took poſſeſſion of the mind of Azim Shaw, that he was convinced his brother, though ſupported by the myriads of [1] Toor and Sullum, durſt not meet him in the field. Hence, thoſe who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuſe as fools and cowards, ſo that no one cared to ſpeak the truth; as was formerly the caſe with the emperor [2] Humaioon, during the rebellion of the Afghan Shere Shaw. Even his chief officers feared to diſcloſe intelligence; ſo that he was ignorant of the ſucceſsful progreſs of his rival.

At length Shaw Aulum having reached [3] Muttra, ſent by a celebrated dirveſh the following meſſuage to Azim Shaw. “ By the “ divine auſpices, we inherit from our anceſtors an extenſive “ empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be juſt and “ glorious not to draw the ſword againſt each other, nor conſent

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[1] Vaſt armies, mentioned in the Koraun.

[2] Father of Akber. See his reign in Dow's Hiſtory.

[3] A city about eighteen coſs N. of Agra, much venerated by the Hindoos, it being the birth-place of their god Kiſhen. There were formerly very rich temples in it; but one, more celebrated than the reſt, and erected by Ber Sing, deo raja of Oorcha, coſt thirty-ſix lacks of rupees. It was razed by Aulumgeer, who built a moſque on the ſite with the materials. Muttra, however, has ſtill many temples, which are viſited by pilgrims from all parts of India.

"to ſhed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the "empire between us. Though I am the elder, I will leave the "choice in your power." Azim Shaw, vain-glorious and haughty, replied, that he would anſwer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this, the meſſenger departed. Azim Shaw marched the next morning, and encamped between Iajoo and Agra, on a barren plain void of water, ſo that the army was much diſtreſſed. Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shaw Aulum was encamped ſeven coſs diſtant, and intended moving on the morrow, but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned, that my deſign is not to write the hiſtory of kings, but of myſelf, and what I have ſeen. Accordingly, of the battle between the brothers, I ſhall only relate ſuch circumſtances as I was an eye-witneſs of.

Sunday, the 18th of Rubee al awul, A. H. 1119. A. C. 1707.

The morning dawned; but what a dawn! Darting fire, and tinged with blood; of whoſe horrors the laſt day can only prove an imitation. Call it not morning; it was the day of judgment! Call it not dawn; it was the evening of death! Call it not day, but the gloomy eve of the woes of time!

Mahummud Bedar Bukht, who commanded the advanced corps of the army, having given the neceſſary orders, began his march. He was mounted upon his favorite elephant, and his moſt valued attendants were near his perſon. Zoolfeccar Khan with the two Raujepoet chiefs, Ram Sing and Dulput Roy, alſo Amaun Oollah Khan, followed them, inclined ſomewhat to the left of the prince. The main body of the army marched next, in the center of which rode Azim Shaw, ſurrounded by his courtiers and a numerous band of Mogul, Afghan and Hindoſtanee [1] munſubdaurs, of approved valour. We had not as yet learned the poſition of the enemy, or what was the deſign of Shaw Aulum.

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[1] Anglicè, Holding rank. Perſons of family, but without titles of nobility.

Mahummud Bedar Bukht had reached a village, near which was a ſtream of clear water; and ſome wells were alſo round about it. The troops at this time were much ſeparated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he choſe. Seeing which, I repreſented to the prince, that the main body was far behind; that the country in his front was deſtitute of water for ſome miles, and the day promiſed to be diſtreſſingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he haſten? I remarked the ſcattered march of his followers; Zoolfeccar Khan obliqued ſo far to the left as ſcarcely to be viſible, and other chiefs equally diſtant in every quarter. I obſerved, that, if he halted here till ſome news arrived of the enemy, there was ſufficient water to refreſh the troops, the artillery would come up, the emperor have time to join, and order be reſtored in the line; alſo that, ſhould the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is juſt. Go, and "inform my father I ſhall follow it."

It happened alſo, that Shaw Aulum had no advice of the route of our army; and, as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning diſpatched his main body under [1] Monauim Khan, while he, with his ſons and perſonal attendants, hunted along the bank of the Jumna. His [2] peeſhkhaneh, with the uſual eſcort under [3] Rooſtum-dil Khan, was coming on in front of the army, in the ſame route as our line.

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[1] Anglicè, Fortunate. He was chief miniſter to Shaw Aulum.

[2] Anglicè, Advanced houſe. The Hindoſtanee chiefs have always two ſets of tents, &c. one of which is always diſpatched, in front of the army, to the next ground of encampment, and pitched for their reception.

[3] Anglicè, Of heart like Rooſtum, the celebrated champion of Firdoſi's Shawnammeh, or Hiſtory of Perſian Kings.

Upon the delivery of my meſſage to Azim Shaw, he replied, "It is very well. Go, and inform my ſon I am coming up." I returned to the promiſed place of halt; but what did I behold! The prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded. I ſpeeded after him, and, upon gaining the line, ſaw a joyful ſcene of congratulation on victory. When the prince ſaw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory!" I replied, "How "comes victory, without a battle?" Upon which his highneſs, turning to a courier, ſaid, "Tell Eradut Khan what you have ſeen." This fooliſh wretch then affirmed, that he had ſeen the [*] Sewarree elephant of Shaw Aulum, without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off towards Agra. The prince then ſaid, that our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The cauſe of this imaginary victory was thus: The advanced baggage of Shaw Aulum falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the eſcort being ſmall, ſoon taken. The elephant ſeen running away, belonged to Rooſtum-dil Khan, who commanded the eſcort.

The prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory, ſuppoſing that my being the bearer of good news would give me favour in his mind. I declined going, and obſerved, that I could not carry intelligence ſo very ridiculous and groundleſs; upon which the prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, "Let us reaſon on the ſub-"ject. Is not Shaw Aulum the ſon of Aulumgeer, and claimant "of the throne? Has he not advanced from Cabul to Agra, with "four ſons, valiant like himſelf, and a great army? Can then any "perſon of judgment even ſuppoſe, that he ſhould baſely fly "without a battle, or even having ſeen his enemy? What dread

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[*] That on which he uſually rode.

" can have ſeized him, who was a valiant leader in the wars of " Dekkan, againſt [1] Samba, [2] Sunta, and [3] Dhunna? Accidents " will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boaſted victory " is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents; " but woe to thoſe who have been thus employed! If important " ſervice ſhould now offer, they will be uſeleſs, confuſed as they " are, and encumbered with ſpoil." To theſe remarks the prince angrily exclaimed, " You are always apprehenſive, and foreboding " ill!" He then ordered Caſim, the [4] darogah of his divan, to carry the intelligence of victory to Azim Shaw.

Scarce half an hour after this had elapſed, when a great duſt aroſe upon our right. Upon this, I ſaid to the prince, " Behold " the conſequence of our victory, and the flight of Shaw Aulum! " Yon cloud precedes at leaſt fifty thouſand horſe." Juſt as I had concluded, another duſt aroſe, which certified a ſecond body of troops approaching. I deſired his highneſs to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at ſome diſtance. He then ſaid, " Will " you now go, and inform my father of the enemy's approach?" To this I replied, " Though I wiſh not to quit your highneſs's " perſon, yet, as I am ordered, I muſt obey;" and, having ſaid this, I rode off with ſpeed towards Azim Shaw. On my way, I beheld ſtrange diſorder. Amaun Oollah Khan, a reputed good officer, who acted as [5] herauwul to the prince [6] Wallajah, I met with only two or three hundred ſtraggling horſe. Azim Shaw was a coſs and a half farther in the rear, and his troops become ſeperated into three diviſions, ſo that I could not eaſily diſtinguiſh the royal poſt; for the train of artillery had been left in Dekkan, and the ſtandard elephants were out of their ſtations, ſo that there was nothing to mark the emperor from a diſtance. When Terbeut Khan was removed from the command of the artillery, and his ſucceſſor applied for orders concerning it to Azim Shaw, he was much enraged, and paſſionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I "will uſe cannon againſt a [1] breeder of cattle? I will not even "draw the ſword, but bruiſe his head with a ſtaff."

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[1] Son to the celebrated Mharatta chief Sewajee, whom he ſucceeded; but was taken priſoner, and put to death by Aulumgeer.

[2] Another ſon of Sewajee.

[3] A famous Mharatta chief.

[4] Superintendant of the hall of audience.

[5] Leader of the advanced corps.

[6] Anglicè, Of high rank. He was younger ſon to Azim Shaw.

At length I perceived the imperial [2] umbrella, and haſtened towards it. Some of the courtiers, who always firſt received intelligence, that they might accommodate it to the humour of their maſter, demanded my buſineſs; but, not liſtening to ſuch weak flatterers, I rode on. When Azim Shaw ſaw me, he made a ſignal for me to advance; but, ſuch was the crowd, I had ſcarce ability to puſh through it. At length, having come near to his [3] travelling throne, I alighted from my horſe, and ſaid, "The prince informs "your majeſty of the enemy's near approach." What ſhall I ſay? Azim Shaw, ſtarting as if ſtung by a ſcorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his cuſtom when angry, pulling up his ſleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner whirling a [4] crooked ſtaff, ſtood upright in his throne, and tauntingly ſaid, "Be not "alarmed! I am coming up to my ſon." Hurt at this inſult to the ſpirit of my prince, I ſaid, "His highneſs is ſon to yourſelf, "aſylum of a world, and knoweth not fear. He only repreſents "the enemy's approach, that your majeſty may advance with the "troops, and take the poſt uſual for the emperor in the day of "battle."

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[1] Alluding to the bullocks uſed for the draft of the artillery, univerſal in Hindoſtan.

[2] The umbrella is one of the imperial enſigns; and, when the etiquette of the court was kept up, no ſubject dared to carry one.

[3] A ſeat, or rather ſmall couch, fixed on three poles, like the nallekee deſcribed in a former note.

[4] A ſhort crooked ſtaff, about three feet in length, not unlike a croſier, uſed by fakeers to lean on when they ſit, and often by perſons of rank as an emblem of humility, and having declared themſelves diſciples to ſome holy man.

Having ſaid this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bukht; but ſuch crowds ſurrounded me to aſk for news, that I could not diſengage myſelf till within a rocket's flight of the prince. Juſt as I had reached him, the enemy began to cannonade, and a ball ſtruck the breaſt of an attendant cloſe to his perſon.

As I had not been undreſſed for the laſt two nights, and was exceedingly fatigued with hard riding, the ſun and wind being burning hot, my ſtrength now failed me, and I fainted away. My brother, ſeeing this, lifted me from my horſe, laid me on the ground, and looſened my armour, but could get no water to revive me. The prince, obſerving my diſtreſs, generouſly ſent me a ſmall veſſel from his elephant, which gave me new life. I untied the folds of my veſt, and poured ſome of the water on my breaſt, but was ſtill too faint to riſe. By this time, Azim Shaw was come up; but, contrary to the cuſtom of the emperors, whoſe ſtation is the rear of the center, puſhed on towards Bedar Bukht, and his attendants crowded after him without order. Ameer Khan paſſing by, and ſeeing me on the ground, offered me a ſeat with him on his elephant, as did others of my friends; but I refuſed them all. At length my own elephant arriving, I mounted, and lay with my breaſt bare upon three ſkins of water, which luckily for me were in the ſeat, to prevent my fainting a ſecond time. The train elephants of Azim Shaw, thoſe of his women, of the treaſury, and the jewel office, now puſhed between me and Bedar Bukht, ſo that I was removed ſome diſtance from him.

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a [1] rocket's flight of our line. One of theſe was headed by the prince Azeem Ooſhaun, the other by Monauim Khan, with whom were alſo the princes [2] Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw and [3] Jehaun Shaw. Our line was ſo preſſed upon on each flank, and in the rear, by baggage elephants, cattle and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops, and render them uſeleſs. Shaw Aulum's artillery played upon us inceſſantly, and did great execution; and his ſons advancing, fired ſhowers of muſquetry, which fell like hail. A line of rockets extending in front of our army, was repeatedly diſcharged with great effect. The ſun, obſcured by duſt and ſmoke, was in the meridian, and the heat exceſſive. At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. This being told me by my brother, who ſupported me on the elephant, I raiſed myſelf as much as I could, adjuſted my armour, and obſerved the motions. I ſaw Khan Aulum move towards the enemy with great rapidity, upon which I waved my handkerchief as a ſignal for the prince Bedar Bukht to follow, which he did, ſo that I ſhortly could ſee only the top of his [4] amaury. As to myſelf, I could not move, being wedged in by the crowd of elephants around me.

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[1] The rocket in India is uſed in war, and the chamber being made of iron, does execution wherever it ſtrikes, but cannot be ſent in true direction. It will reach from three to four hundred yards.

[2] Anglicè, Reſpecter of the faith, king poſſeſſing the world; eldeſt ſon of Shaw Aulum.

[3] King of the world; youngeſt ſon of Shaw Aulum.

[4] A canopied ſeat for an elephant. An open one is called howzah, or howdah.

As Khan Aulum advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminiſhed, gradually lagging behind, and not above three hundred ſtuck by him to the charge. When I ſaw this, I well knew that all was loſt. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of Azeem Ooſhaun, and hurled his ſpear at the prince, but it miſſed him, and ſtruck the thigh of an attendant; when the prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan Aulum, and he died on the inſtant. His brother, Munnower Khan, was alſo wounded. Their followers fell back in the utmoſt confuſion, and fled, as did the greateſt part of our right wing, leaving the prince Wallajah in a manner alone; but, notwithſtanding this deſertion, he heroically kept his poſt. Amaun Oollah Khan, ſeeing his danger, haſtened to ſupport him, when unluckily a rocket lighting in the pad ſupporting his ſeat on the elephant, it took fire, and burnt ſo furiouſly as to pain the animal, who turned back. The khan, half burnt, fell to the ground; and his troops, thinking he was killed, fled in diſorder. The prince Wallajah, upon this, retreated for ſhelter towards Bedar Bukht.

A body of the enemy, under Bauz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zoolfeccar Khan, but was repulſed with great loſs, and the chief badly wounded; but, by the decrees of Providence, Ram Sing Harra, and Dulput Raow Bonedelah, on whoſe valour and conduct Zoolfeccar Khan moſt depended, were both killed at the ſame inſtant by a cannon ſhot; upon which their raujepoots loſt all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zoolfeccar Khan, however, yet remained firm with his own followers; but, upon being charged by the whole of Azeem Ooſhaun's diviſion, he left the conduct of the battle to Syed [*]Muzuffir, and retired to the rear of Azim Shaw's poſt with Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and, having diſmounted from his elephant, fled on horſeback to Gualiar, where he was received by his father, [*]Aſſud Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

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[*] Victorious.

The principal followers and perſonal attendants of Azim Shaw, now diſmounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, ſat down to wait the charge of the enemy, and ſell their lives in defence of their patron. Syed Abdoolla, and his brother Houſſein Ali Khan, of the illuſtrious houſe of Barreh, ever celebrated for valour, whoſe anceſtors had in every reign performed the moſt gallant actions, if poſſible ſuperior to their ſires, deſcended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with ſabres, and great ſlaughter on both ſides. Houſſein Ali Khan received ſeveral wounds, and fell down faint with the loſs of blood. Amaun Oolla Khan was killed. Terbeut Khan, Muttullub Khan, and Khoodabundeh Khan, having expended all their arrows, uſed their ſabres; but the former was ſoon killed by a muſquet ball, and the two latter fell down faint with many wounds. Suffawee Khan, of the royal houſe of Perſia, Meerza Abdoolla, and a numerous band of great officers of Azim Shaw, were ſlain, after each had ſhewn the valour of Rooſtum in his defence. At laſt a muſquet ball, and ſeveral arrows, ſtruck the prince Bedar Bukht, and he ſunk down dead upon his elephant. I ſaw him fall, and in the agony of grief exclaimed, "Hadſt thou not, O God, created ambition of crowns "and thrones, the head of my prince had not been thus humbled "in duſt and blood!"

Azim Shaw, though much wounded, was ſtill alive, when a whirl of duſt winded towards him from the army of Shaw Aulum. From this now iſſued Monauim Khan with a ſelect band, the princes Azeem Ooſhaun, Moiz ad dien Jehaundar Shaw, and Jehaun Shaw. Azim Shaw ſoon received a mortal wound from a muſquet ball, and reſigned his ſoul to the Creator of life. The prince Wallajah alſo ſunk down in the ſleep of death. I now made my eſcape towards Agra, not chuſing to go to the enemy's camp, though I had many friends, who would have given me protection.

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[*] Anglicè, Lion; ſignifying like one in valour.

Rooſtum dil Khan, who, as already mentioned, commanded the eſcort of Shaw Aulum's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his eſcape cut off, paid his reſpects to Azim Shaw, and had continued near his elephant during the battle, till his death, with great firmneſs. Seeing him dead, he aſcended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpſe, remounted his horſe, and haſtened to the camp of Shaw Aulum. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the prince's feet; but the compaſſionate Shaw Aulum, ſeeing the head of his ſlaughtered brother in ſuch diſgrace, ſhed tears of affection, and gave him nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper reſpect, and forbad the march of victory to be beaten.

Monauim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate princes, and treated the ladies of their harams with the utmoſt reſpect and tenderneſs. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and ſuffered extreme pain, he concealed his ſituation, and continued on the field till late at night, to reſtore order and prevent plunder. He could not diſmount from his elephant without help and was obliged, no pallekee being at hand, to be carried in a cloth to the preſence of Shaw Aulum. His eldeſt ſon, Nyeem Khan, alſo was dangerouſly wounded by a ball in the neck, and was recovered with difficulty. Shaw Aulum paſſed the night under a ſhaumianeh on the field of battle, and the next day, having attained the important object of empire, with his mind freed from the dread of a rival, moved in triumph to the gardens of [1] Dhera, round which his army encamped.

I ſhall now relate ſome particulars neceſſary to be known concerning Shaw Aulum; his march from Cabul, and other proceedings, to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother Azim Shaw.

Some time before his death, Aulumgeer had appointed Monauim Khan to be [2] dewan to Shaw Aulum, who then held the government of Cabul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, reſolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He ſoon arranged the prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confuſion, owing to the aſcendancy of unworthy favourites. Diſſolute and oppreſſive, they, from ſelf-intereſted motives, interfered with the duties of a dewan, and prevented him from doing juſtice. A ſuperfluous ſoldiery was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and, being conſequently ill paid, was ever mutinous and diſcontented. At the ſame time the houſhold of the prince was diſtreſſed. Monauim Khan, reſpected from the eſteem in which he was held by the emperor, and his already eſtabliſhed character of great ability, ſoon gained the perfect confidence of Shaw Aulum. He diminiſhed the prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, ſo as to leave no room for diſcontent, or excuſe for licentiouſneſs. When he had thus reformed affairs at Cabul, he left his ſon as his deputy there, and removed to Lahore, the collections of which province were full of abuſes. He had reſolved to amend them, and ſucceeded, ſo as to render the majority of all ranks pleaſed with his adminiſtration. When he heard of Aulumgeer's illneſs, in order to prevent cabals in favour of Azim Shaw, he circulated a report that Shaw Aulum would not contend for empire, but ſeek protection from his brother by a flight to Perſia. Shaw Aulum had himſelf, indeed, made this declaration long before; and with ſuch apparent reſolution, that it was believed, and dreaded even by his ſons, who reſided with him. Monauim Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote, in theſe words:

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[1] About three coſs, or ſix miles, from Agra.

[2] Manager of the revenues.

" When I perceived that my attachment, ſincerity, and abilities, " had properly impreſſed Shaw Aulum's mind, and that he was " convinced I was a prudent, faithful and ſecret ſervant, being " alone one day with him, converſing on the affairs of the empire, " I took the liberty of thus addreſſing him: *It is reported that your* " *highneſs intends flying to Perſia, with ſo much confidence, that even* " *the princes, your ſons, aſſure me by ſacred oaths of its truth.* He " replied, *In this rumour there lies concealed a great deſign, to for-* " *ward which, I have ſpread it abroad, and taken pains to make it* " *believed. Firſt, becauſe my father, on a mere ſuſpicion of diſloyalty,* " *kept me nine years in cloſe confinement; and, ſhould he even now* " *think I cheriſhed the ſmalleſt ambition, he would immediately ſtrive* " *to accompliſh my ruin. Secondly, my brother, Mahummud Azim* " *Shaw, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme* " *of raſhneſs, would exert all his force againſt me. From this report,* " *my father is eaſy, and my brother lulled into ſelf-ſecurity; but, by* " *the Almighty God who gave me life,* laying his hand on the Koraun " by him, *and on this holy book, I ſwear, though not one friend ſhould* " *join me, I will meet Azim Shaw in ſingle combat, wherever he may* " *be. This ſecret, which I have ſo long maintained, and even kept* " *from my own children, is now entruſted to your care. Be cautious* " *that no inſtance of your conduct may betray it!*"

To proceed. When the news of Aulumgeer's death reached Monauim Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by expreſs to Shaw Aulum, conjuring him to march with the utmoſt expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, as he ſhould find artillery and all ſupplies ready at Lahore. This wiſe miniſter then prepared bridges over the various rivers, ſo that not a day's delay was occaſioned in croſſing to the prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery, with ſufficient draft. He alſo paid up all the troops, and advanced large ſums to new levies. Shaw Aulum, by long marches of ten and twelve coſs each day, ſoon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and Monauim Khan entered that city with a ſelect party. The officers of Azim Shaw were alarmed, and either fled, or concealed themſelves in diſguiſes. [1] Mahummud Ear Khan, the kelladar of the palace, a cautious perſon, and ever looking into futurity, though he knew moſt of the great ameers had embraced the cauſe of Azim Shaw, yet was ſo awed with the vizier's gallantry, and the arrival of Shaw Aulum, that he ſaw no ſecurity for himſelf but in reſigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treaſures of Hindoſtan, collected from the reign of Akber to the preſent times. Thus was Shaw Aulum, by the activity and reſolution of his ſervant, made maſter of funds to ſupport (if he choſe) all the troops to be levied in the empire. The army was now increaſed to one hundred thouſand horſe, and ſoldiers of every caſt and ſect flocked in crowds to the imperial ſtandard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid. Monauim Khan advanced with ſome choſen troops before the prince to Agra, and though Bedar Bukht was at the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived at Gualiar, he was not alarmed, but encamped immediately before the citadel. [2] Baukee Khan, an old imperial ſervant, and governor of the fortreſs, which he had refuſed to reſign to Azeem Ooſhawn, being certified that Shaw Aulum was approaching, did not chuſe to reſiſt longer, but ſent offers, that if Monauim Khan would come firſt alone into the citadel, he would reſign the command. He accordingly, without the leaſt diſtruſt, entered over a narrow plank, only paſſable for a ſingle perſon; which was placed over a deep ditch from a ſmall wicket to admit him. As he had made a forced march from Muttra, of twenty coſs, he now lay down to take a few hours reſt, till all his followers arrived. After this refreſhment, he ſealed up the treaſury, poſted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to viſit Azeem Ooſhawn, who was encamped at the diſtance of ſix coſs, to whom he offered much friendly advice for his conduct to his father, who was jealous of his loyalty. When the news of the ſurrender of the citadel of Agra reached Bedar Bukht at [1] Dholepore, his ſpirit was broken, and the crimſon of his hopes faded into pale deſpair. I was with him at the time, and perceived that he regarded every thing as loſt. He immediately ſent an account of the event to his father, who had not yet heard of Shaw Aulum's arrival at Muttra, as his weak ſervants, fearful of his diſpleaſure, and the uſual groſs abuſe, dared not to inform him. At length Shaw Aulum made the propoſal of a diviſion of the empire, which was refuſed, and two days afterwards the conflict enſued, as abovementioned.

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[1] Anglicè, Friend of Mahummud.

[2] Anglicè, Conſtant.

Without doubt, Shaw Aulum's ſucceſſes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great miniſter; yet he never ſet forth himſelf as having done any extraordinary ſervice, but would often ſay to his majeſty, that empire was the particular gift of God, and that no obligation could be

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[1] A town on the bank of the Chumbul, in the province of Agra.

laid on ſovereigns; ſo that, if any one thought himſelf conducive to their ſucceſs, it was, in them, vanity and folly. To me, from whom he kept not his inmoſt thoughts, he would ſay, "Kings, "through the blaze of ſplendor, cannot ſee impartially; therefore, "if any perſon preſumes upon ſervices, and would ſhew that he "thinks them an obligation on his maſter, the jealous diſpoſition "of royalty cannot bear it, and rejects the claim, as was clearly "proved in the proceedings of the emperor Mahummud Akber, "and [1] Beyram Khan, his aſſuming miniſter."

It is now neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the four ſons of Shaw Aulum, their diſpoſitions and behaviour, both in public and private.

[2] Moiz ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, the eldeſt, was a weak man, devoted to pleaſure, who gave himſelf no trouble about ſtate affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be ſeen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooſhawn, the ſecond ſon, was a ſtateſman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always purſued the policy of encouraging his grandſons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his ſons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by oppoſing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooſhawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from whence he had now come with a rich treaſure, and conſiderable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great ſervice, yet he was ſuſpected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the cauſes would be uſeleſs prolixity.

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[1] Beyram Khan, on the death of Humaioon, became regent during the minority of Akber, who, at the age of ſeventeen, not chuſing longer to be governed by a ſubject, diſplaced him.

[2] Anglicè, Reſpecter of the faith.

[1] Ruffeh Ooſhawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the ſame time addicted to pleaſure, particularly fond of muſic, and the pomp of courtly ſhew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even thoſe of his own houſhold.

[2] Khojeſteh Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greateſt ſhare of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's acceſſion to the throne; after which, the whole adminiſtration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the cloſeſt friendſhip and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his intereſt, was appointed vizier.

When Shaw Aulum had repoſed from the fatigues of war, he took meaſures to reduce Kaum Bukſh, who had aſſumed the imperial titles in Dekkan. It was not ſuppoſed that he could make much oppoſition, but in the opinions of the wiſe and underſtanding prejudged, that his behaviour would of itſelf ruin him in that country.

Monauim Khan now called together, by attention and conſoling behaviour, the unfortunate nobility of Azim Shaw, who had eſcaped from the late battle to different places. Zoolfeccar Khan had fled to his father, [3] Aſſud Khan, who had the charge of Azim

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[1] Anglicè, Of high rank.

[2] Of happy ſtar; king of the world.

[3] Anglicè, Lion.

Shaw's baggage in Gualiar. The vizier had taken pains to convince his maſter, that the ancient nobility were the pillars of the ſtate, and that the welfare of the empire depended on their perſons, whoſe anceſtors had held high offices, and acquired influence and reſpect with the people, ſo that it was proper and politic to employ them.

As the vizarut had been conferred on Monauim Khan, at his requeſt, the moſt dignified office of [1] vakeel muttulluk was entruſted to Aſſud Khan, and that of [2] meer bukſhi to his ſon Zoolfeccar Khan, with the title of Ameer al Amra. The ſecond bukhſhiſhip was conferred on Meerza [3] Shawnowaz Khan Suffawee. Monauim Khan, regardleſs of trifles, ſubmitted to ſit below Aſſud Khan in the divans, and to ſhew him every reſpect as his ſuperior in office. The government of all Dekkan was granted to the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who performed the duties by his deputy, Daood Khan Punnee, while he in perſon attended the court.

Monauim Khan, ſincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the ſervice of his maſter, never preferred the gratification of his own paſſions to the welfare of the ſtate, or honour of the ſovereign. He both adviſed and acted what was for his glory. For example, moſt of the ameers of Aulumgeer had accompanied Azim Shaw, and fought againſt Shaw Aulum in the late conteſt, conſequently were liable in juſtice to whatever evils or puniſhments he choſe to inflict upon them; but Monauim Khan became their general interceſſor, repreſenting to the emperor, that they were excuſable, having only obeyed an heir who ſat upon the throne, which, as affairs were circumſtanced at that time, they could not avoid; that, after they had become his friends, [*] eaten of his ſalt, and made new compacts and declarations in addition to their former vows of allegiance, they could not in honour abuſe his confidence by treachery or deſertion. He obſerved, that the empire of Hindoſtan was a ſtate not to be kept in order by one or two perſons; that, like the magnificent pavilion of [**] Soleymaun, many ſtrong pillars and powerful cords were required to ſupport it, and keep it on a laſting footing; that the noble families, who from generation to generation had the benefit of experience, a knowledge of the cuſtoms of the empire and rules of government, were alone ſuited to high employments; that moſt of the preſent nobility had alſo held for many years important offices, and acquired wiſdom and knowledge. He ſaid, that, if they were not ſtill entruſted with the poſts of greateſt confidence, there would not remain a poſſibility of ſupporting the rules of the empire, or obtaining able ſtateſmen or good generals. He adviſed his majeſty to reward amply thoſe perſons who had joined his ſtandard from every quarter, and done good ſervices, agreeable to their merits; but without exalting them beyond their abilities, obſerving that many of them had only been dependants on the princes and nobility, others again only ſervants to fojedaurs and governors of towns. Where then could they have acquired judgment in politics and knowledge of government, dignity of manner, or fortitude to ſupport the power of command? He obſerved, that ſuch accompliſhments were inherent to noble birth and liberal education, the natural conſequence of ſuch advantage. Such was the vizier, of whoſe maſter (worthy of him) I now ſpeak.

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[1] Anglicè, Univerſal agent. This is an office ſuperior to that of vizier. It is ſeldom filled up, but in time of great emergency; but it was lately conferred on the infant Peiſhwa, by his preſent majeſty of Dhely, though it cannot be conſidered now but as an empty honour. It ſeems to have been no more to Aſſud Khan.

[2] Chief paymaſter.

[3] Anglicè, Favoured by the king.

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[*] This expreſſion implies a very ſtrong connection in the original idiom.

[**] According to Mahummedan tradition, Solomon had a very ſumptuous pavilion made for him by the Genii.

Shaw Aulum was generous and merciful, of a great ſoul tempered with affability, diſcerning of merit. He had ſeen the ſtrict exerciſe of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been uſed to authority himſelf for the laſt fifty years. Time received a new luſtre from his acceſſion, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not ſuperior, to their merits; ſo that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became abſorbed in the bounties of his ſucceſſor. Some narrow-hearted perſons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profuſion; but it is a fact, that the deſerving of every profeſſion, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never ſeen, nor had ſuch been heard of before by the ears of fame. His perſonal qualities and perfections, ſpeech is unequal to relate. His valour was ſuch, that he had reſolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whoſe bravery was celebrated, in ſingle combat. His four ſons, poſſeſſed of great power and conſiderable force, he ſuffered conſtantly to be near his perſon, never giving himſelf a moment's ſuſpicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which ſubject I, the humbleſt of his ſlaves, once ventured to preſent him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done ſo to Aulumgeer. To what I repreſented, he wrote a wiſe and juſt reply, which, by God's permiſſion, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the ſons of thoſe princes, who had fallen in battle againſt him, to appear at all times completely armed in his preſence. The infant children he let remain unmoleſted with their mothers, while thoſe arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and ſhared in all his diverſions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his ſons, grandſons, and nephews, ſat generally round his throne, in the manner following: —On his right hand, Jehaundaur Shaw, his eldeſt ſon, with his three ſons, his third ſon Ruffeh Ooſhawn with his three ſons, and Bedar Dil, ſon to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahummud Azeem Ooſhawn with his two ſons, and Jehaun Shaw with his ſon. [1]Ali Tibbar, the only ſurviving ſon of Azim Shaw, ſat on the right hand of Azeem Ooſhawn, and a little to the right, ſomewhat advanced, the two ſons of Mahummud Kaum Bukſh. Behind the royal princes, on the right, ſtood the ſons of conquered ſovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda; alſo a vaſt crowd of the nobility, from the rank of ſeven to three thouſand, ſuch as were allowed to be on the platform between the ſilver rails. How can I mention every particular of the ſplendid ſcene? On the [2]eeds, and other feſtivals, his majeſty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his preſence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dreſſes, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dreſſed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himſelf, in the grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and ſweetneſs which captivated the moſt eloquent Arabians. He never miſſed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an aſſembly of the religious, or learned men. He himſelf related [1] traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all ſects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheſes of each. On this account, ſome over-ſtrict devotees accuſed him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his ſuperior abilities. I heard moſt of his tenets, and lamented the inſolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the ſun, how juſt and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a ſmall part; therefore I ſhall deſiſt, and now relate, as briefly as poſſible, the expedition of his majeſty to Dekkan, againſt the death-devoted Kaum Bukſh.

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[1] Anglicè, Of high deſcent.

[2] The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the concluſion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniverſary of the day on which Abraham conſented to ſacrifice his ſon. On theſe days, tents are pitched about a mile diſtant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great ſtate to pray, and on his return receives preſents from his ameers, on whom he confers honorary dreſſes according to rank. The ſame ceremony is obſerved in every town, by the governor. At the laſt eede, after prayers, a camel is ſacrificed, and a ſmall part of it dreſſed, and eaten on the ſpot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavaleades which I chanced to attend on each of theſe days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and ſerved to give an idea of the aſtoniſhing ſplendor which muſt have graced theſe in the flouriſhing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the proceſſion at Lucnow, on the firſt eed in 1784, as he was preſent, and took a ſketch of it.

It has been already mentioned that the late emperor, a few days before his death, diſpatched Kaum Bukſh to Beejapore. This prince was of an excellent memory, learned, and a pleaſing writer, poſſeſſed of all outward accompliſhments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightineſs that approached near to inſanity. He ſeldom remained a month in his father's preſence, but, for ſome miſbehaviour, he was reproved, degraded, or confined; and ſome acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. When he arrived at Beejapore, he immediately proclaimed himſelf in the [2] khootba, and ſtruck coins in his own name. What follies was he not guilty of, from the madneſs of his mind, and the confidence he put in lying viſionaries! Theſe wretches had hailed each of the princes with a prophecy of ſucceſſion to the throne, ſwearing they had converſations in their reveries with God, his prophet, and the pious ſaints, who had promiſed their aſſiſtance, ſo that human force was unneceſſary. They aſſured Kaum Bukſh, that he need not levy any troops for his ſupport; for, though an enemy ſhould march againſt him with all the myriads of [1] Toor and Sullum, they would not dare to face his ſight, much leſs engage in battle. Flattered by this, and impelled by madneſs, the weak youth regarded himſelf as emperor, and invincible in his ſingle perſon; to prove which, he would often relate, in a raving manner, ſtrange prognoſtics and divine greetings ſhewn to himſelf. His prophets having told him, that his eldeſt ſon would alſo one time become emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated to put him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aulumgeer: however, he kept him conſtantly in confinement, miſerably clothed, and worſe fed than the ſon of a wretched beggar, which was worſe than death. From the ſame cauſe, on ill-placed ſuſpicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon puniſhments on the ladies of his haram, putting many of them privately to death. To his ſervants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing ſuch acts to them as before eye never ſaw, nor ear had heard.

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[1] Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

[2] The khootba is a form of prayer, in which the ſouls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are firſt prayed for, beginning with Adam, and ending with Mahummud. The ſouls of the reigning family's anceſtors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole

Notwithſtanding theſe blots in his character, as he was a ſon of Aulumgeer, and that part of the empire had been given to him, at firſt moſt of the chiefs of Dekkan, whether Muſſulmauns or Hindoos,

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whole concludes with a prayer for the proſperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his ſubjects. It is read every Friday in the mizid jamée, or grand moſque of all towns, and on the eeds or grand feſtivals.

[1] Two great hoſts, mentioned in the Koraun.

doos, crowded to his ſtandard, and the Imperial officers, as Syef Khan, Rooſtum Dil Khan, and others of all ranks, joined in acknowledging him emperor. Leaving his foſter-brother, Meer Mullung, a debauched youth of neither birth or merit, at Beejapore as governor, he marched himſelf to Hyderabad, then commanded by Rooſtum Dil Khan, who had ſucceeded his father, [1] Jan-ſippar Khan, by Aulumgeer's orders, in that government. In this province he reduced ſome powerful zemindars to his obedience, and diſplaced others.

[2] Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadar Firoſe Jung, who had acquired a moſt powerful influence in Dekkan, was chief of the Tooranee moguls, and kept on foot a great army, had withdrawn himſelf from Azim Shaw. He was alſo much in dread of Shaw Aulum's reſentment, he having adviſed that prince's being confined, when Aulumgeer was before Golconda. The late emperor had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to attach the Tooranees to Kaum Bukſh, and for this purpoſe had appointed for that prince's preceptor, Syed Oughlan Seyadut Khan, the agent at court, and boſom confidant of Ghazee ad Dien Khan, venerated alſo by all the Toranees of every rank. He had alſo charged them with the protection of his perſon; but ſuch was the temper of the unhappy prince, that at a time like this, when he claimed the throne, and, favourably for his cauſe, Ghazee ad Dien Khan dreaded Shaw Aulum, he could not make him his friend: on the contrary, he did many acts to diſpleaſe him, and excite his alarms. This chief was an able ſtateſman of long experience, who, though blind of ſight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wiſhes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an emperor, yet he ſoon ſaw the follies of Kaum Bukſh, and declined his cauſe, as ruinous and

[1] Anglice, Life-reſigning.

[2] Anglice, Champion of the faith; valiant and fortunate in war.

loſt. In a ſhort time too, the chief zemindars of Dekkan, who had in general joined his ſtandard, diſpleaſed at his conduct and heedleſs ſhedding of human blood, his inconſtancy of mind and breach of treaties, left him, and retired to their own countries, where they took care to ſecure themſelves, till the diſputes for the throne ſhould be decided.

Thus, though the pretenſions of Kaum Bukſh were of no great importance, yet he was a ſon of Aulumgeer, and claimed a right to the empire. The behaviour of Ghazee ad Dien Khan alſo demanded conſideration. [1]Ajeet Sing, hereditary zemindar of Jodepore, and Jey Sing, of Ambeer, did not ſhew that obedience and reſpect to the throne which had been obſerved by their anceſtors, and meditated rebellion. All theſe circumſtances made his majeſty reſolve on marching to Dekkan. The [2]khan khanan opened a correſpondence with Ghazee ad Dien Khan, to whom he gave much conſolation, aſſurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced ſtateſman, opening his eyes on the viciſſitudes of life, ſaw it was his intereſt, if his majeſty would forget the paſt, and not moleſt him in his fortune, to bend his head in ſubmiſſion, and retire from buſineſs to a life of devotion. His only ſon, [3]Cheen Koolich Khan, had long diſagreed with him, and his brother, [4]Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had ſeparated from him, and gone over to the preſence. The Tooran chiefs of his houſhold alſo, when they ſaw his fortunes on the decline, had left his ſervice. All theſe events made him glad to embrace the promiſes of the miniſter, and thankfully accept the ſoubadacy of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly croſſed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeer ſince his loſs of ſight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former ſervices, and from motives of policy, had excuſed.

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[1] Son of the celebrated Jeſſwunt Sing, who acted ſo capital a part in the competitions of Aulumgeer and his brothers.

[2] Lord of Lords. Monauim Khan is meant by this title, which he received from Shaw Aulum.

[3] Anglicè, Sword-drawing lord. He was afterwards famous as Nizam al Mulluck.

[4] Anglicè, Aſſiſting.

Shaw Aulum began his march to Dekkan with an army ſuperior to that of any of the former emperors, and a ſplendor till now unſeen, having in his train all the princes, and a great concourſe of nobility of every rank. The prudent and able Monauim Khan took ſuch meaſures for the ſupplies of this mighty force, exceeding Aulumgeer's by an hundred thouſand men, that the emperor had no trouble or difficulty, though only in the beginning of his reign, when the revenues of the provinces had not yet been received, nor reſpect for the throne been properly impreſſed in different quarters. When his majeſty had arrived at Aurungabad, before he would advance towards Hyderabad, where the frantic Kaum Bukſh then was, he wrote him ſeveral kind letters and friendly admonitions, to this effect:—" Our ever-honoured father reſigned to you only " Beejapore; but we give you, in addition, Hyderabad. Theſe " two extenſive countries, long famous for their great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindoſtan, we leave to you, " without interference or reluctance, and ſhall eſteem you dearer " than our own children. Think not then of contention, nor " conſent to ſhed the blood of the faithful, nor diſturb the repoſe " of our government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this " advice, we will farther confer upon you the nizamut of Dekkan, " if agreeable to you; and, after viſiting the ſacred tomb of our " father, we will return to Hindoſtan."

There was no treachery or deceit in this generous offer, for Shaw Aulum always ſhewed tenderneſs, liberality and affection, in his conduct to his brothers. Kaum Bukſh, weak and ſelf-conceited as a child, bent on error, paid not the ſmalleſt attention to his brother, and continued to add freſh affronts to his authority. Rooſtum Dil Khan, Syef Khan of the Imperial ſervants, and others of no family or note, on whom he had beſtowed titles of nobility, with about twenty thouſand horſe and foot, were now with him, but, diſguſted at his behaviour, meditated opportunities to quit him. Monauim Khan, with his uſual prudence, had ſent them letters, aſſuring them of the emperor's forgiveneſs and favour; ſo that all, even to Meer Mullung, Kaum Bukſh's foſter-brother, had reſolved to come over, and embrace his protection; but the prince, ſuſpecting their intentions, put to death Rooſtum Dil Khan, Syef Khan, and Meer Mullung, and plundered their families of all they poſſeſſed, on the ſame day, and in the ſame place. He had after this no officer of conſequence with him, and his treaſure being expended, all his troops deſerted, except about ten thouſand of the worſt Dekkan horſe, and his ſmall artillery; yet he ſtill reſolved to hazard a battle. When Shaw Aulum arrived within twelve coſs of Hyderabad, the unfortunate Kaum Bukſh loſt daily his followers in crowds, and moſt of the zemindars of Dekkan retired to their homes; while the remainder mutinied for arrears, and hourly threatened to plunder his effects. Will it be believed, that he yet determined to reſiſt, and expected victory? He even quitted the aſylum of the city walls, and encamped upon a plain about the diſtance of three coſs, with his ſmall force, within ſight of the emperor's army; ſo great was his enthuſiaſtic belief in the prophecies of his deceiving, and perhaps ſelf-deceived, devotees.

Shaw Aulum, from compaſſion to his brother, and the hope of yet reducing him by gentle means, would not permit his troops to attack; but Kaum Bukſh interpreted the inactivity of the Imperial army into fear, from his belief that the prophecies in his favour were now on the point of accompliſhment; for he had been aſſured by viſionaries, that, though alone, mighty hoſts would never prevail againſt him. Accordingly, though deſerted by almoſt all his followers, he yet obſtinately refuſed to pay allegiance to his brother. At length the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who had a keen enmity againſt the miſguided prince, and wiſhed to ſhew his zeal A. H. 1120. A. C. 1708. for his new patron, reſolved to ſeize him. He accordingly obtained leave to march, under the pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, and moved towards him with his own followers, a diviſion from the troops of Monauim Khan, and a body of Mharattas under the chief Neema Sindia. The unfortunate prince prepared to withſtand ſuch ſuperior force; but, being charged at once on all ſides, was inſtantly deſerted by all his followers, except a few perſonal attendants. Notwithſtanding this, he continued, as long as he had ſtrength, to uſe his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he ſunk down on his ſeat, through loſs of blood from ſeveral wounds. He was then taken priſoner by Daood Khan, and carried to the prince Jehaun Shaw, who, with his brothers, had ſtood at ſome diſtance during this extraordinary ſkirmiſh.

The captive prince was conveyed immediately to the Imperial tents, and being laid upon a bed in the [*] tuſhbeh khaneh, near the private apartments, was viſited by his brother, the emperor, who endeavoured to comfort him by every expreſſion of affectionate concern. The phyſicians and ſurgeons alſo attended, but he would not allow his wounds to be dreſſed, though earneſtly entreated by his majeſty and his ſons. He ſpoke but little; but when the prince Ruffeh Ooſhawn tenderly aſked, why he had refuſed offers of favour, he replied, "His majeſty was very gracious; but how "could I ſubmit to meet him in any other way than this?" Upon Jehaun Shaw's repeating the queſtion, he exclaimed, "I have "done wrong; do not you follow my example!" One of the princes aſking him if he had more than a thouſand followers when taken, he angrily anſwered, "No; but had there been leſs than "five hundred, I could with equal eaſe have brought myſelf here." He then turned to the emperor, and ſaid, "There are, in a caſket "upon my elephant, ſome jewels of our father and my own, of "which I beg your majeſty's acceptance." After this he grew faint, and languiſhed in ſilence, without uttering a ſingle groan, till nine at night, when he reſigned his ſoul to the Creator of life: We are from God, and to God we muſt return.

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[*] An oratory, where prayers are ſaid.

When Shaw Aulum had thus ſucceſsfully concluded the war, with his brother, he did not chuſe to remain longer in Dekkan, though the affairs of that country required much arrangement, to inſure its future dependance on the empire. Perhaps he dreaded the fate of his father, who, after the reduction of Beejapore, Hyderabad, and the taking of Sambah, remained to finiſh ſome objects which then appeared eaſily attainable, but afterwards extended in ſuch a chain, that he could not quit Dekkan for the remainder of his life. He had often lamented this neceſſity, and the relaxation which his abſence occaſioned in the government of Hindoſtan; and would frequently ſay to his confidants in private, "My diſloyal "ſubjects have impoſed upon me this play-thing, that they may "enjoy commands and honours." But I am wandering from my ſubject. Shaw Aulum, in the height of the rains, began his march from Hyderabad, leaving as deputy-governor of Dekkan, Daood Khan Punnee, a native of the country, and a nobleman of great military fame. When he recroſſed the Nerbudda, it was intended to employ all the powers of government to ſettle, in a proper manner, the Rajapoote countries, which had been diſaffected ever ſince the acceſſion of Aulumgeer; who, though offended at the behaviour of the rajas Ajeet Sing and Jey Sing, over whoſe territories he had appointed Imperial governors, yet was not able, from the wars in Dekkan, to puniſh them effectually. They had indeed viſited Shaw Aulum, but had left his camp without permiſſion, and now openly ſhewed their deſigns to ſtruggle for independence, in cloſe alliance with each other; to bind which, Jey Sing had eſpouſed the daughter of Ajeet Sing. At this criſis, intelligence arrived that the [1] Siks had riſen in rebellion. This ſect of infidels, known alſo by the names of Nannukkea and Gooroh, had long been eſtabliſhed in the ſoubah of Lahore, by a teacher ſtyled Nannuk. Of his deſcendants was the preſent chief, to whom had flocked great crowds of all ranks, reſigning to his diſpoſal, with blind fidelity, their lives and properties. Thus ſupported, he excited ſedition, and took arms to extend his errors, and overturn the baſis of the true faith. He engaged Vizier Khan, the fojedaur of [2] Sirhind, who was killed in the action, with numbers of his followers; after which the gooroh poſſeſſed himſelf of the town of Sirhind, and many diſtricts of Doaub, as far as [3] Boreah, Saarunpore, and Shawdourah, on both banks of the river Jumnah, where he committed unlimited exceſſes, razing all public edifices, as moſques, colleges, mauſoleums, and palaces, killing or taking priſoners the faithful of every age and ſex, and plundering with the moſt cruel ſeverity. The oppreſſions of theſe wretches were every day increaſing, and there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Dhely againſt them. Aſoph ad Dowlah Aſſud Khan, who governed that capital, ſhewing great ſigns of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly, with their families and effects, towards the eaſtern provinces, for ſhelter from the impending ſtorm. All this being repreſented to the emperor, in the higheſt colours, his majeſty thought it beſt to march in perſon againſt the inſurgents: for this reaſon, he reſolved for the preſent to lay aſide the deſign of totally expelling the rajapootes, and to confirm their allegiance, by winking at their offences, till a more convenient opportunity of puniſhment. Theſe zemindars had, for generations, been uſed to obey, and had not, in fact, either fortitude or ability to oppoſe openly the emperor of Hindoſtan, whoſe appearance againſt them in arms would have been ſufficient to curb their inſolence; but the khankhanan, alarmed at the inſurrection of the Siks, did not properly reflect on that circumſtance, and deſcended to ſhew the rajapootes ſuch favours as were inconſiſtent with good policy, as well as the dignity of the ſovereign: but he was not alone to blame, as there were other agents in this buſineſs. The four princes were conſtantly intriguing againſt each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occaſioned much delay and confuſion in buſineſs, ſo that the khankhanan thought it happy to ſteer his veſſel ſafe through four ſuch [*]great ſeas; and could not act ſo independently for the public good as he wiſhed, being obliged to attend to the capricious intereſts of others, among which he found it difficult to preſerve his own. Among the remarkable occurrences of the expedition into Dekkan, was the decline of Jehaun Shaw's influence with his father, and the riſe of that of Azeem Ooſhawn, of whom till now the emperor had ever been ſuſpicious. The prince Jehaun Shaw was of haughty and independent ſpirit, ready to take fire on the ſmalleſt neglect. This, with the behaviour of his ſervants, alarmed and diſpleaſed the khankhanan, who, for his own ſafety, watched an opportunity to deſtroy his influence in public affairs: a taſk of no great difficulty, to one well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Shaw Aulum, almoſt equally warm with his ſon, who had more than once diſpleaſed him by his behaviour, ſo that he had expreſſed to him his diſſatisfaction. The prince, upon this, thought to prove his diſintereſtedneſs and independence, by neglecting to frequent the durbar, and engage in buſineſs as uſual. Azeem Ooſhawn, who had reaped experience in office, and was well verſed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolneſs taking place between Jehaun Shaw and the khankhanan, paid ſo much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave ſtill more offence to Jehaun Shaw, who had too much pride to expoſtulate, but neglected the miniſter in return. He ſoon after fell ſick, and his indiſpoſition continuing a long time, gave Azeem Ooſhawn ample opportunity of acquiring influence over Shaw Aulum, and the favourites whom his majeſty truſted with the fulleſt confidence; while he continued to be pleaſed with them, but, on the ſmalleſt diſguſt, or in their ſhorteſt abſence, he forgot them altogether.

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[1] They now poſſeſs the provinces of Lahore, Multan, and part of Dhely, plundering as far ſouth annually as Rohilcund.

[2] A conſiderable town, about fifty coſs N. of Dhely.

[3] Theſe diſtricts are now held by Zabtah Khan, a Rohilla chief, who however pays a tribute to the Siks, and it is ſaid has entered into their ſect.

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[*] Meaning the power and influence of the four princes.

Azeem Ooſhawn having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the miniſter, employed it in ſoftening the rigour of government againſt thoſe who laboured under its diſpleaſure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cauſe, whenever the death of his father ſhould give him a claim to the empire. It was from this hope, that he adviſed indulgence to the refractory rajas, and condeſcended to repair to their camp, and conduct them from thence to his father, permitting them to be accompanied by all their troops armed. Such unuſual indulgence was far from anſwering the end expected by the prince, who ſhould have ſeen, that it could only tend to diſplay publickly the fears of government, and conſequently muſt reflect diſhonour on its adviſer, and render him weak in the eyes even of thoſe to whom ſuch uncommon honours were allowed. In ſhort, the two rajas, attended by all their followers, paid their reſpects to his majeſty on the line of march, were gratified with his aſſent to whatever their inſolence demanded, and diſmiſſed to their homes with rich preſents and aſſurances of favour.

When this affair was finiſhed, the emperor marched without delay towards Lahore, not even ſtopping to make an entrance either at Agra or Dhely. In a ſhort time he arrived at Sirhind, which the rebels deſerted on his approach, and retired to [1] Daber, the original reſidence of their goorroh or chief, where they fortified themſelves as ſtrongly as poſſible. Though this inſurrection was not of ſuch importance as to diſturb the general repoſe of the empire, yet his majeſty, defender of the faith, hearing that the malice of the rebels was directed at religion, thought it his duty to go againſt them in perſon; in this, copying the example of Aulumgeer, who, in the latter part of his reign, appeared at the ſiege of every fort belonging to unbelievers; otherwiſe, what ability had a wretched and infatuated rabble to dare the preſence of ſuch a glorious monarch? The exertions of one of the principal ameers, or, at all events, of the princes, would have been equal to the extinction of the rebellion, and exploſion of the ſchiſm.

The imperial army ſoon arrived within ſight of the goorroh's camp, which lay round the walls of Daber on different heights, commanding the paſſes to that fortreſs, ſituated on a ſummit, ſurrounded by hollows, craggy rocks, and deep paths. Shaw Aulum had reſolved to lie inactive before the enemy for ſome time, in hopes by this to render them confident, and tempt them to an engagement; on which account he iſſued poſitive orders to the princes and all the ameers, not to advance nearer the goorroh's lines on any pretence, however favourable. Some days paſſed in inactivity, when at length the khankhenan entreated permiſſion of his majeſty to advance, with his own followers, to reconnoitre the enemy's poſition; which was granted, on condition that he ſhould not commence an attack without further orders from the preſence. However, when he had arrived within ſhot of their lines, the enemy began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, muſquetry, and arrows. His ſoldiers, enraged, were not now to be reſtrained; and the khankhanan, more jealous of his military fame than fearful of the emperor's diſpleaſure, ventured for once to diſobey, by giving directions to attack. He diſmounted from his horſe, and led his brave troops on foot up the moſt difficult heights, driving the rebels from them with the greateſt rapidity and ſucceſs. This ſcene paſſing within ſight of the royal camp, the chiefs and ſoldiers, emulous of glory, waited not for orders, but haſtened to join the attack in great numbers; while the emperor and the four princes viewed the fight from the ſquares of their encampments, with a mixture of anger and ſatisfaction. At laſt the enemy were driven from all their works, to the narrow ſummit round the fort of Daber, where they continued to defend themſelves in a deſperate manner, but without even the hope of eſcape from general ſlaughter; when night coming on, rendered friends and foes undiſtinguiſhable to each other. The khankhanan, ſure of having the goorroh in his power, gave orders for his troops to ceaſe the attack, and lie upon their arms in their preſent poſition, till the morning ſhould enable him to finiſh it with ſucceſs. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either becauſe he had not perceived it, or was ſatisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were poſted. The goorroh, a man of great art, generally appeared in the dreſs and ſplendor of a prince, when he wiſhed to be public; but, if occaſion required privacy, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a jogie or ſynaſſee, in ſuch a manner, that few, even among his own people, could know him. During the night, he, without acquainting his followers of his intentions, changed his habit, and left the fort undiſcovered. The khankhanan, about dawn, renewed the attack, and gained the place, after a ſhort ſtruggle, ſword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the goorroh dead or alive to the emperor, whoſe diſpleaſure at his diſobedience of orders, would by this ſervice be changed to approbation: but who can relate his weight of grief and diſappointment, at finding that his promiſed prize had eſcaped, without leaving a trace behind him? The goorroh's ſpeed of foot was uncommon, and he only acquainted with the paths and mazes through the hills that led to the ſnowy mountains, which he had marked for ſhelter. The khankhanan loſt for an inſtant almoſt the uſe of his faculties, which were abſorbed in dread of the emperor's anger, not without reaſon. As he was, agreeable to cuſtom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph in his way to the royal tents, orders arrived, commanding him to ſtop the drums, and not dare to enter the preſence. He retired, drowned in deſpair, to his own tents; where he had the cruel mortification of learning every inſtant, from meſſengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour, and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the preſence of his majeſty, who was highly enraged againſt him. But though this did not continue long, and Shaw Aulum, regarding his former ſervices, received him again into favour, after a few days, yet this noble and faithful miniſter never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain he

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[1] At the entrance of the Sewalic mountains, which connect Hindoſtan with Thibet.

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* Sects of fakeers, or religious mendicants.

felt at ſeeing three of the princes and the ameer al amra uſing all arts to complete his ruin, ſtuck like a poiſoned arrow in his breaſt. He loſt all ſatisfaction from worldly enjoyments, the emptineſs of which he now ſo fully experienced, and from the day of his diſgrace declined in his health; ſo that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then reſigned his A. H. 1124. A. C. 1712. ſoul to the angel of death; who never, in the uncounted ages of his office, ſeized on a ſoul more pure, or leſs defiled with the frailties of human nature.

While Shaw Aulum, juſt as a ſovereign, and liberal as a man, reigned over the empire with a gentle hand, in perfect repoſe, Providence was preparing new revolutions, and Time haſtening to diſcloſe events of dreadful importance. The bloſſoms numerouſly ſhooting under the influence of the Imperial ſpring, were deſtined to be blaſted by the ſtorms of autumn, and only one unkindly fruit to remain on the royal tree. A deadly vapour, poiſonous as the piercing venom of the ſnake, all at once infected the head and heart of Shaw Aulum with pains, violent as from the heavy ſtroke of the keeneſt weapon. So inſtantaneous was the fatal effect, that it gave full reaſon to imagine it proceeded from poiſon. He was all at once ſeized with faintings, which continued without intermiſſion, A. C. 1712. till, on the 21ſt of Mohirrim, 1124, being Monday night, he deſerted this vain world for that of eternity. He had been, from the firſt inſtant of his illneſs, given over, and the princes and ladies of the haram made continual and loud lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Mahummud Moiz ad Dien and Azeem Ooſhawn were ſitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquiſite workmanſhip, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the ſcabbard, Moiz ad Dien, jealous of his brother, was ſeized with a panic. He ſtarted up, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that he ſtruck the turban from his head againſt the door of the tent, forgot his ſlippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being aſſiſted to riſe and adjuſt his dreſs by his ſervants, who were aſtoniſhed at his ſtrange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with all the ſpeed and hurry poſſible. This occaſioned much alarm in the camp, and I, among many others, haſtened towards the [1]durbar. I met the prince, with his attendants, puſhing on his elephant with frantic haſte; upon obſerving which, I endeavoured to paſs unobſerved; but he knew me, and ſent a meſſenger to call me to him. As I had previouſly attached myſelf to Azeem Ooſhawn, I did not obey the mandate, but paſſed on to the emperor's tents, where I ſat down in the guard-room of [2]Mahabut Khan, third bukſhi, which was cloſe to that of the ameer al amra, who did duty there in perſon. He ſent for me, and I found with him Mirza Shaw-nowaz Khan Suffawee. I had before intereſted myſelf, at the deſire of both, in bringing about a connection between Azeem Ooſhawn and the ameer al amra; for which purpoſe I had employed Shekh [3]Coodderut Oolla as a meſſenger, and ſometimes my grandſon, [4]Einaiut Oolla. The ameer al amra now deſired me to ſend the latter to Azeem Ooſhawn, to aſk him how he could ſerve him on the preſent occaſion. I ſent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and ſlight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of an hundred. It was written in Shekh Coodderut Oolla's (confidant to the prince) own hand, as follows: "As " the Imperial ſervants can know no place of ſupport but this " court, and moſt have already repaired to it, the ameer al amra " may alſo pay his duty, with aſſurance of a gracious reception,

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[1] The court of the emperor, or any other perſon in high authority.

[2] Anglicè, Commanding awe.

[3] Anglicè, Providence of God.

[4] Gift of God.

"in the preſence." When the ameer al amra read this, he ſhed tears, and ſaid to me, with much emotion, "You ſee the manners "of the prince and his adviſers! Whatever is the will of God, "muſt take place. Alas! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted "with government, often endanger the very exiſtence of his "maſter. When fortune frowns on any one, he is ſure to do "that which he ſhould not." After ſaying this, he immediately quitted the guard-room, collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of the prince Moiz ad Dien, where he thought his ſervices more likely to anſwer his own intereſt.

The camp was ſo diſpoſed, that the tents of the emperor were pitched along one bank of the river, and on the other oppoſite, thoſe of the prince Azeem Ooſhawn, at a conſiderable diſtance from the [1] city. The three other princes were encamped nearer to it, but Moiz ad Dien almoſt cloſe to the walls, and the greateſt part of his train occupied the houſes of the neareſt ſtreets. The influence, riches and power of Azeem Ooſhawn, had long raiſed againſt him the enmity and jealouſy of his brethren, who had, for their general ſafety, formed a compact to ſupport each other. The ameer al amra had formerly been diſguſted at Azeem Ooſhawn, for preferring to himſelf, the khankhanan and Mahabut Khan; from which time he had courted alternately Ruffeh Ooſhawn and Jehaun Shaw. On this occaſion, he ſwore to aſſiſt the three brothers in effecting the deſtruction of Azeem Ooſhawn, and make an equal diviſion of the empire and royal treaſures among them.

Azeem Ooſhawn, already in poſſeſſion of the Imperial camp, treaſury and jewels, had alſo a vaſt treaſure of his own. Moſt of the principal noblemen had joined him, with their followers; alſo the royal artillery. He had, beſides, a very conſiderable army in his own pay; ſo that his brothers, though all leagued againſt him, would have formed but a weak enemy, if he had immediately attacked them. But he acted otherwiſe: he encamped on the plain, keeping the river to his rear, and began to throw up works to defend himſelf, inſtead of courting a general action. Probably this proceeded from tenderneſs to his brothers, who he thought would in a few days be deſerted by their troops, for want of pay, as they poſſeſſed little or no money; and that they would either willingly acknowledge him emperor, to obtain ſettlements, or be delivered into his hands by ſome of their pretended friends, to gain his favour.

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[1] Lahore, ſituated on the river Rawee, about 200 miles N. of Dhely.

While he thus flattered himſelf with an eaſy conqueſt, the three brothers, by the advice of the ameer al amra, drew all the artillery from the fort of Lahore, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear. I happened to be encamped near Mahabut Khan, who immediately, on learning that the ameer al amra had attached himſelf to Moiz ad Dien, fearing to be plundered by his troops, loſt no time in moving off with his family and effects to Azeem Ooſhawn, leaving his tents and temporary buildings ſtanding. No ſooner was he gone, than the rabble took poſſeſſion of his camp, which they ſet on fire, and levelled in an inſtant with the ground. As, on many accounts, I had reſolved to embrace the fortunes of Azeem Ooſhawn, I would have gone with him; but the camp being a ſtanding one, I had neglected my tents, parted with my carriages, and erected temporary ſheds for my family, ſo that I was obliged to remain in an alarming ſituation, almoſt alone, for four days. I wiſhed to ſend my women to my houſe in the city: but the road to it led through the allied armies, where it was probable they might be inſulted or plundered. On the fifth day, I was eaſed of my fears, as a ſtrong eſcort came from the prince Azeem Ooſhawn to conduct to him Shaw-nowaz Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and ſome other noblemen, who waited for this ſecurity to join him. With them I reached his camp in ſafety, where I happily got poſſeſſion of a ſquare walled about, but without any covering or ſhade: yet even this was as a palace at the time, as it ſerved to protect my women and family. I now paid my reſpects to the prince, who received me graciouſly, conferred upon me many favours, and conſulted me on all important occaſions. Pecuniary rewards, and titles far above my ambition, were allotted for me, and getting ready to paſs the ſeals: at the ſame time, orders were diſpatched to ſummon my ſon, [1] Hoſhe-dar Khan, to the preſence, from which he had been detached ſome time before on actual ſervice, with a ſelect force; and, to pay him, a large ſum of money was ſent to me. I refuſed it, however, as I had not people to ſecure its ſafety; and requeſted alſo, that the rank of five thouſand, and title of Azim Khan, which was preparing for me, might not be confirmed, till the prince ſhould become victorious over his enemies, as I had made a vow not to receive them till he ſhould ſit unrivalled on the throne of empire. In fact, I perceived in his weak politics, and want of reſolution, the decline of his cauſe; and ſaw the burning blaſts of ſummer haſtening to deſtroy the ſeaſon of ſpring, as the experienced huſbandman can judge of his harveſts from the changes of the atmoſphere.

When Azeem Ooſhawn had intrenched himſelf, and the three brothers began their approaches to his works on every ſide, his operations became highly blameable in the eyes of the nobility and officers of experience. It appeared to the public, that the ſuperior force dreaded the inferior; and that thoſe who ought to be the

[1] Anglicè, Endowed with judgment.

beſiegers, were now the beſieged. Such was the effect, for Azeem Ooſhawn's army grew diſpirited daily, while the enemy's gained ardor every hour, at finding that proſpect of ſucceſs, of which in the beginning they had almoſt deſpaired. Our ſoldiers at the works, tired with conſtant watchings and alarms, grew remiſs in their duty: they firſt required unneceſſary aſſiſtance, and at laſt began to deſert their poſts. The Imperial artillery, to whom a great ſum of money had been given as a bounty, became diſobedient to orders, and even mutinous, in which points they were followed by thoſe of the houſhold. This behaviour made Azeem Ooſhawn change his opinion, that he could purchaſe victory with money only; ſo that he opened his treaſury but ſparingly to the old or new troops, giving, with much reluctance, only one hundred rupees to each trooper who came to offer ſervice with his own horſe, for which ſecurity was alſo demanded. At a criſis of this important nature, but few were tempted to quit the ſervice of their old maſters, for a ſum but inconſiderable in itſelf, and only attainable with ſuch difficulty. In ſhort, the whole camp began to be alarmed, and even the boldeſt officers to feel a dread of the ill conſequences of being cooped up in unneceſſary entrenchments. A cannonade was kept up on both ſides for four days, in each of which the three brothers gained ſome advantage, by advancing their ſtations nearer to the works of the miſguided Azeem Ooſhawn.

On the fifth day, Azeem Ooſhawn moved from his camp in order of battle, and his ſon, the prince [*]Mahummud Kerreem, though commander of the advanced corps, was with him, inſtead of being diſpatched in front, agreeably to the uſual diſpoſition of the line. This was ordered, leſt, as the enemy were formed into three bodies, one might gain an advantage over him, and another intercept his retreat to the grand line, before he could receive proper aſſiſtance. Such was the confuſion in forming the troops, that the artillery was quite uſeleſsly diſpoſed, and many pieces, deſerted by the men, lay overturned on the ground; while ſome of the chief officers were by their followers left almoſt alone, on their elephants, before the action began. Soleyman Khan Afghan firſt advanced to charge the diviſion of Jehaun Shaw, but he was ſupported by ſo few of his followers, that he could effect nothing, and was killed in the onſet, before he had reached the enemy's poſt. Jehaun Shaw moved ſteadily, in ſlow order, towards Azeem Ooſhawn, whoſe terrified troops began to fall back from around him. The miſconducted, but truly brave prince, when he ſaw his fortune thus unfavourable, though he might have ſaved himſelf by mounting a horſe and flying from the field, yet ſcorned to owe his ſecurity to diſhonour, and would not move from his elephant, but advanced almoſt alone towards Jehaun Shaw. This action, and ſubmitting to be ſacrificed, was one and the ſame. His elephant driver was killed in the inſtant, and the few till then remaining friends to his perſon deſerted him to a man. He received many wounds from arrows and ſhot, ſo that he ſoon ſunk down fainting upon his ſeat; while his elephant, without a driver, and furious with pain, ran through the enemy, who purſued him in vain for ſome hours, and during that time the unfortunate prince died of fatigue and loſs of blood[1]. Sultaun Mahummud Kerreem, his ſon, in the height of the confuſion, threw himſelf without hurt from his elephant, and mounting a horſe brought him by an attendant, eſcaped from the field of b[illegible]le; but only to ſuffer, ſhortly after, a worſe fate than dying in action.

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[*] Anglice, favoured by Mahummud.

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[1] Ameen ad Dien Sumbullee ſays, his elephant ruſhed with him into the Rawee, and was drowned.

It happened that, at the beginning of the action, the three princes were drawn up nearly oppoſite that part of the camp where I unfortunately had placed my family in a wretched ſquare, to which the enemy advanced ſtill nearer, as the battle raged, and our troops began to fly. Mahabut Khan, Hummeed ad Dien, and other lords, had in the beginning ſent their families acroſs the river to places of ſafety, which precaution I was prevented from uſing, by being attendant on Azeem Ooſhawn's perſon in the line. The river was about a rocket's flight from the ſquare incloſure, and upon the rout of our line, Khan Zummaun, my friend, adviſed me, while the enemy's troops were yet employed in fight, to conduct my women out of danger to the other ſide; at the ſame time offering me a boat he had ready for his own ſecurity againſt purſuit, and a guard of one hundred and fifty perſons, his own followers. Accordingly I placed my wife and daughter in two covered pallekees, with a ſum ſomewhat exceeding [1] four thouſand gold mhors, a caſket of jewels, betel plate of gold ſet with jewels, and other very valuable ornaments belonging to my daughter, deſigned for her marriage portion, leaving clothes and every thing elſe to chance. As Providence decreed it, the women's pallekees had juſt arrived at a narrow inlet of water, about an arrow's flight from the river, when Azeem Ooſhawn's elephant, and Mahummud Kerreem's, were running towards it, purſued by the enemy. I was advanced a little in front to prepare the boat, when ſuddenly one of my attendants cried out, "Where are you going? Your honour is "ruined!" I looked behind me, and ſaw the enemy near my women; upon which, in a ſtate of furious deſpair, I haſtened back with my grandſon Meer Einaiut Oolla, as Khan Zummaun's people could not reach me in time for my aſſiſtance. We two had juſt joined the women, when the rapacious Moguls had begun to plunder; upon which I leaped from my horſe, and ſeizing my wife and daughter by each a hand, ruſhed with them into the rivulet up to their waiſts, and covered the reſt of their perſons with a cloth, drawing my ſword to defend them with my life from further inſult: and, luckily for my honour, their faces were not ſeen by the eyes of a ſtranger. The Moguls, more attentive to gain than ſhedding of blood, after plundering the pallekees and other carriages of every thing, even to the coarſeſt outer coverings, rode off in ſearch of other prey, without attacking me or my attendants, who were hid in different buſhes and hollows. It was during this confuſion, that I ſaw the prince Mahummud Kerreem jump from his elephant, mount a ſervant's horſe, and eſcape. When the alarm was over, and friends and enemies had paſſed by, I was joined by my ſervants from their various ſhelters, and, having replaced my women in the pallekees, returned to my late miſerable dwelling, which had been alſo plundered, even to foot-cloths and carpets. No pillows or ſeats were left us but the bare ground, and no apparel but that drenched in water on our backs; nevertheleſs, I gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the preſervation of my life and honour, with a ſincere fervor. With the approach of night the confuſion ſlackened, and about nine o'clock all was over, and quiet reſtored. I then ſaid to myſelf, "What is gone, is gone!" and, with a calm mind, recited one hundred and twenty verſes of the [*] Meſnavi, beſides an ode applicable to the preſent ſtate of affairs.

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[1] About ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, reckoning the mhor at fifteen Sicca rupees.

The prince Jehaun Shaw, who had taken poſſeſſion of the camp of the vanquiſhed, in the morning ſent covered carriages and other neceſſaries to me, with a gracious meſſage, deſiring that I would come, and pitch my tents near his own. I went accordingly, and was introduced to him. He was ſitting alone, under a canopy, near his private apartments. When he ſaw me, he exclaimed, in a joyful voice, "Come, [1] Azim Khan, for thy arrival is at a happy "ſeaſon! I was anxious to ſee thee." He then took off the khelaut, which he had put on juſt before, and gave it to me, with the munſub of [2] ſix thouſand, ſaying, "I have left one degree of rank "to confer upon you on the day of my acceſſion to a throne." After which he diſmiſſed me in a gracious manner, and I took up my ſtation near that of [3] Lutfoolla Khan Saduk, his firſt miniſter.

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[*] The Meſnavi is a collection of moral poems, by Molewee Jellal ad Dien Roomi.

Jehaun Shaw, who had gained the victory over Azeem Ooſhawn, judging, from the purity of his own intentions, that thoſe of his two brothers and the ameer al amra were equally juſt towards him, though fortune had placed all the treaſures of the vanquiſhed in his power, ſcorned to uſe this advantage, contrary to his oath of alliance. He ſent the body of Azeem Ooſhawn to Moiz ad Dien; and, when all the plunder of his camp was collected, delivered the whole without delay into the hands of the ameer al amra, who, agreeable to treaty and his own oaths, was to make an impartial diviſion of the provinces and treaſures between the brothers. This ſtrictneſs to his word was the cauſe of his ruin. The ameer al amra had privately reſolved to ſeat Moiz ad Dien on the throne without a rival, as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleaſures, averſe from buſineſs, and conſequently beſt ſuited to the purpoſe of a miniſter ambitious of uncontrouled power. With this view, he, on various pretences, delayed making a diviſion of the treaſure, knowing that the troops of Jehaun Shaw and Ruffeh Ooſhawn were already mutinouſly clamorous for the payment of their long arrears, and much diſguſted at being deprived of the great plunder they had expected from the camp of Azeem Ooſhawn, which had been ſeized from their graſp by the ſtrict diſcipline and honour of Jehaun Shaw. The ameer al amra, with ſeeming attachment, viſited the princes as uſual, and three days paſſed over without their expreſſing diſtruſt at his delay; but their friends clearly ſaw his deſigns, and warned Jehaun Shaw againſt his treachery; offering to prevent their completion, by putting him to death, when he ſhould come next to pay his reſpects. The honourable and noble-minded prince refuſed his aſſent to ſuch propoſals, ſaying, "I cannot conſent to ſuch "diſhonourable and perfidious dealing, for which I ſhould become "heinouſly guilty in the eyes of God, and amongſt men marked "as a traitor and abuſer of power. If empire is decreed me, I "ſhall attain it without trouble; but, if not, of what avail is "treachery, or unjuſt ſhedding of human blood?" At his next viſit, he openly told the ameer al amra the ſuſpicions entertained of his conduct, ſaying, "Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading "that I may be putting thee to death; which, however politic, I "ſcorn to do by fraud. Riſe then, and go in peace to thine own "houſe." The ameer al amra departed with a ſpeed and precipitation declaring his guilt. The veil, with which he had covered his deſigns, became no longer of uſe; but, inſtead of feeling gratitude to Jehaun Shaw for ſuffering him to live, his enmity increaſed. He now openly avowed his deſtruction, and his intentions to ſupport Moiz ad Dien. Though Jehaun Shaw, virtuous and religiouſly faithful to his word, was generous and juſt in this great action, yet the policy of government will not admit of ſuch conduct being copied as an example of propriety. The world is deceitful, and cannot be commanded but by deceit. The thief, who ſhould wake his ſleeping prey, would only bring ruin on his own head. Virtue and vice being direct oppoſites, cannot exiſt in one dwelling. That, the foundation of which is evil, cannot be ſupported but by evil.

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[1] Anglicè, Noble lord; the title which Azeem Ooſhawn had offered to confer on him.

[2] Seven thouſand was properly the higheſt rank of nobility. In the decline of the empire, rank of eight and ten thouſand was conferred on powerful miniſters.

[3] Anglicè, God's mercy. Saduk, Anglicè True, was his family name.

When the ameer al amra had openly refuſed to perform his agreement, Jehaun Shaw, furious at his behaviour, moved his camp oppoſite to the treacherous nobleman's, and prepared to offer battle without delay. He had juſt now the faireſt proſpect of every ſucceſs; a fine army, attached to his perſon with one mind, good artillery, and a great character among his own and the enemy's troops. But—how uncertain is fortune! "This night, by permiſſion of God, a fire broke out in the artillery camp: all the rockets and ſtores of ammunition were deſtroyed, and our army rendered in one inſtant totally uſeleſs. The merit of this important miſchief was afterwards claimed by Rajee Khan Maneckporee, who ſaid the fire was purpoſely kindled by his ſpies, for a large bribe. This man was originally of low character and little eſteem, but for this ſervice he was gradually raiſed from a poſt in the artillery, by Moiz ad Dien, to the rank of ſix thouſand. Immediately after this dreadful accident, Rooſtum Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan haſtened to one of the Imperial powder-works, and obtained ſome freſh ſupplies; but the troops, much diſpirited with their loſs, now became clamorous for money, and began to deſert in great numbers. In ſhort, the ſpirit of the army was changed, ſo that, excepting Lutfoolla Khan, Rooſtum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and a few others who remained faithful, all the chiefs forfeited their honours, and Jehaun Shaw, plainly perceiving the wavering of his followers, thought it moſt adviſable to prevent worſe conſequences, by putting all to the hazard of an immediate engagement. The next morning at the dawn of day, (being Monday, *anno* 1124,) he formed his line, and began a cannonade, which was anſwered by the enemy, and kept up on both ſides till mid-day with equal ſucceſs. At length the fire of Jehaun Shaw began to ſlacken, and his troops to ſeparate on various pretences, as want of water, guarding their baggage, and the like; ſo that near half the army deſerted gradually, in ſpite of the prince's repeated orders to maintain the line. A. C. 1712.

Obſerving

Obſerving this, he raiſed a report that the ameer al amra was killed by a ſhot, in conſequence of which the enemy were alarmed, and that he ſhould immediately charge them, in order to improve ſo favourable an event. As he ſounded the march of victory, his troops believed him, and returned moſt of them to their poſts. He then commanded Janee Khan, Rooſtum Dil Khan, and Mukhlis Khan, to charge one flank of the enemy, and Lootfulla Khan and others in front, he himſelf heading this laſt diviſion. It was now about four o'clock, when Jehaun Shaw, without looking behind him to ſee how he was ſupported by his troops, advanced on the enemy's center with a furious ſpeed, where the ameer al amra was ſtanding with a few followers, to reconnoitre. Moiz ad Dien had before retired to repoſe in his tents. Rooſtum Dil Khan and other chiefs ruſhed through all oppoſition to that quarter, gained the tents, and plundered even the ladies of the haram, among whom were many belonging to the late emperor. Moiz ad Dien, rouzed from ſleep, without regarding their ſafety, fled to ſeek his own, undreſſed as he was, with the ameer al amra, who was engaged againſt Jehaun Shaw in unequal combat, as he had only with him three or four hundred horſe. At this time Ruffeh Ooſhawn, who ſeemingly ſupported Moiz ad Dien, but was waiting for an opportunity to deſtroy both him and Jehaun Shaw, appeared in the rear of the latter with his whole force. A corps of infantry alſo now oppoſed him in front, not only ſtopping his charge, but confuſing his troops; who, ſeeing themſelves likely to be ſurrounded, loſt all ſpirit, and fled to a man on the right and left, leaving him expoſed alone upon his elephant: and he was ſoon killed by a muſquet ſhot. His ſon, [1] Ferkhundeh Akhter, a prince of moſt promiſing bodily and mental accompliſhments, who ſat behind him, deſcended and fought with his ſcymetar, till he could ſtand no longer, and then fell down dead, covered with wounds. Both the bodies were carried immediately to the ameer al amra, who ordered the march of victory to be ſounded. Jehaun Shaw, heroic, juſt and benevolent, was all perfect; but ſtill, as Providence oppoſed his fortune, all his plans turned out directly contrary to their propoſed end, and what ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, became the cauſe of misfortune. Men judge vainly from events, ſaying, if he had not done ſo, thus would or could not have happened: but, alas! in whoſe power are events? Our faculties, our ſtrength, our thoughts, our friends, are all moved by the inſtigation of Providence. Nothing can happen without a cauſe, yet our ruin is often brought on by the very cauſes which had before occaſioned our ſucceſs; for God doeth that which pleaſeth him, and effecteth that which he hath deſigned.

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[1] Anglicè, Of fortunate ſtar.

When the day of this ſun of royalty had ſunk in the evening of death, there now remained no other rivals than Moiz ad Dien and Ruffeh Ooſhawn. The latter had the firmeſt reliance on the attachment and oaths of the ameer al amra, who, during the life of the late emperor, had been ſupported by him in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt the khankhanan. He alſo had honoured him, at his own requeſt, by the appellation of uncle, and [1]exchange of turbans; ſo that he now hoped, as one ſovereign ſeemed to be his choice, that it might reſt upon him, in preference to his elder brother. On this account, he had reſolved to wait as a ſpectator of the ſtruggle, till the fall of one of his rivals, and then to ruſh upon the ſurvivor, while fluſhed with victory, and unguarded againſt a new enemy. This deſign he now communicated to his followers, and deſired them to ſupport him in an immediate attack on Moiz ad Dien; but they would not conſent, either through fear or treachery, pretending that the dawn of morning was more favourable than the preſent inſtant; ſo that the prince was obliged to ſtop, and wait their pleaſure. He ſpent the night under arms, with ſleepleſs impatience for the return of day; but ſome of his falſe adviſers communicated his plan to the ameer al amra, and promiſed to aſſiſt in the deſtruction of their patron.

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[1] The exchange of turbans, among the orientals, is the moſt ſacred pledge of friendſhip, and any breach of it, after ſuch ceremony, regarded with horror.

Juſt as the morning was beginning to appear, Ruffeh Ooſhawn advanced ſilently towards the enemy, hoping to ſurprize them; but, before he had reached their camp, the commanding officer of his artillery, either through treachery or ignorance, fired a gun towards the quarter of Moiz ad Dien, which rouſed his ſleeping troops. The alarm was immediately ſounded, and the enemy's cannon ſoon began to play furiouſly. Who now would ſtand to ſupport Ruffeh Ooſhawn? The greateſt number of his followers fled in confuſion to the right and left, while Buddukſhee, a chief in whom he had repoſed the greateſt confidence, and whom he had ſaved from being put to death by his father, whom he had raiſed to honours, and ſupported with a liberality unbounded, having privately agreed with the ameer al amra, ungratefully turned his arms againſt him at this inſtant. The unhappy prince was in a ſhort time left alone, ſurrounded by his enemies on every ſide; but truly brave and ſpirited, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithſtanding his delicacy and ſeeming effeminate ſoftneſs, he threw himſelf from his elephant, and, drawing the ſabre of glory from the ſcabbard of honour, fought ſingly on foot againſt thouſands of aſſailants. But what could he effect, more than ſell one life at the expence of many? He was ſoon hewed down with repeated wounds, and reſigned his breath to him who gave it. May the Almighty ſhew mercy to his ſoul! We are from God, and to him we muſt return.

Such courage, I muſt with juſtice remark, never appeared among the deſcendants of Timur, as ſhewn by the offſpring of Aulumgeer;

nor do the various hiſtories I have read, record the like gallant oppoſition of a prince ſingly againſt numbers. True valour is proved in the extremity of danger; but it is eaſy to aſſume the appearance of courage in the day of ſafety.

Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, by the aſſiſtance of Providence alone, now ſounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, expoſed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Dhely, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in the mauſoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the Imperial family. The mauſoleums which they had erected for themſelves, near the tombs of their favourite ſaints, of marble, jaſper, and other rich ſtones, were beſtowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and miſtreſs to the weak Jehaundar Shaw.

Be it known to thoſe of enlightened underſtandings, and to the acquainted with the uſages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, ſome obſervations and expreſſions ſhould eſcape my pen, contrary to reſpect, and the examples of the hiſtoriographers of princes, they will not proceed from diſaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a ſervant, and God forgive me! but by them I mean no diſaffection to his perſon, or diſreſpect to the family of Timur; no vent of my own ſpleen; no view to flatter a ſucceſſor, by diſparaging his rival, nor malicious abuſe for the neglect or diſappointment I may have ſuffered during this reign. I ſwear by God, and God is a ſacred witneſſer of oaths, that I loved him as my ſovereign; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wiſe or fooliſh, in public and private, if they were, without one exception, all unworthy, what can I ſay, as a faithful writer? Let it be remembered, that I was nouriſhed for fifty years under the benignant ſhadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How ſad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, oppoſite to him in every quality, ſucceeding to the very ſame empire, ſitting on the very ſame throne, and the actions he did, what can I ſay, or in what terms paint the diſgraces they ſuffered by his acceſſion?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expreſſion operates in advice: the friends to the [*]Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the houſe of Ali, heightened their ſtyle, and repreſented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praiſed by good men) that the oppreſſed might draw the ſword againſt a worthleſs tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I heſitate to ſacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors, and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundar Shaw, by the intrigues and ſupport of the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and aſcended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the cuſtoms of time were changed. He was in himſelf a weak man, effeminately careful of his perſon, fond of eaſe, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had alſo blemiſhes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illuſtrious anceſtors. He made the vaſt empire of Hindoſtan an offering to the fooliſh whims of a public courtezan, which tortured the minds of worthy ſubjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends and minions of the miſtreſs, uſurped abſolute authority in the ſtate; and high offices, great titles, and unreaſonable grants from the Imperial domains, were ſhowered profuſely on beggarly muſicians. [1] Two corores of rupees annually were ſettled for the houſhold expences of the miſtreſs only, excluſive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchaſed, agreeable to whim, ſometimes jewels, gold, ſilks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the moſt trifling articles. A woman named [2] Zohera, keeper of a green-ſtall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a ſuitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they uſed to promote the intereſts of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and ſacrificing decency to the preſent advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whoſe gates were more crowded with equipages in general than thoſe of the Imperial palace, ſo that to paſs through the ſtreet where they reſided was a matter of difficulty, by reaſon of the throng. To do them juſtice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the uſe of their influence at court. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his miſtreſs at laſt grew to ſuch a pitch, that on a certain night, after ſpending the day in debauchery, and viſiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the houſe of one of her acquaintance who ſold ſpirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large ſum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell aſleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained ſleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had ſhared in the jollity of his royal maſter, without examining the machine, carried it to the ſtables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the miſtreſs had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his ſafety, and ſent to her to enquire concerning his ſituation. She deſired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince faſt aſleep in the arms of Zohera, at the diſtance of nearly two miles from the palace. This ſcandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good ſubjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundar and his abandoned favourites. He after this ſtill more expoſed his vices to the public, often, as he paſſed through the ſtreets, ſeizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradeſmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar ſuperſtition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a ſingle cloth, in the fountain of the [1] Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The miſtreſs had the inſolence to abuſe the princeſs [2] Zebe al Niſſa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundar Shaw, with expreſſions ſo vile as were unbecoming the meaneſt perſon. This princeſs had neglected to pay compliments to her, which ſhe received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teized the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to ſhew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he ſo far complied with her unreaſonable entreaties, that he left off viſiting the princeſs, and declined going to an entertainment ſhe had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How ſhall I relate all his follies? The abovementioned are ſufficient to ſhew the ſad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate.

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[*] The two chief Imaums were the ſons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahummud, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poiſon, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom deſcended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, ſo highly reſpected among the Mahummedans.

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[1] About two millions ſterling.

[2] The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day paſſing in a pallekee, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow ſtreet, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of ſervants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithſtanding this, Zohera's ſervants were inſolent to his attendants, and, as ſhe paſſed by, ſhe exclaimed, "Are you the ſon of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeneſs. She complained to the miſtreſs, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundar to take notice of it, and command Zoolfeccar Khan to puniſh the nizam. The nizam had ſuſpected this to happen, and had informed the miniſter of the affair. When Jehaundar Shaw ſpoke to him, he was anſwered, that, to puniſh the nizam for having corrected an inſolent upſtart, would enrage all the nobility, who would conſider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundar, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundar Shaw's promoting one of his miſtreſs's relations, a muſician, to a high rank, Zoolfeccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of ſneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his ſeal of office to the patent, one thouſand ſmall tabors. The muſician complained to Lall Koor, his patroneſs, of the indignity offered him; and ſhe told the emperor, inſiſting that he ſhould reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundar Shaw accordingly reproached the *miniſter*, who ironically replied, that, as muſic was the beſt recommendation with his majeſty for promotion, he had aſked the tabors to deliver out to perſons of family, that they might, by practiſing upon them, qualify themſelves for high office, and ſucceed as well as their inferiors, the muſicians. Jehaundar Shaw felt the force of the ſatire, and, being afraid of his miniſter, withdrew the patent.

The ameer al amra, Zoolfeccar Khan, ſeater, nay even creator of emperors, with ſuch an image of humanity in his hands, became abſolute, and ſo proud, that [3] Pharaoh and Shudad could not have obtained admiſſion to his threſhold. He ſtudied to ruin the moſt ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, or diſgrace them, that he might plunder their poſſeſſions. Unhappy was the perſon he ſuſpected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accuſations always accompanied each other. He eſtabliſhed ſuch exactions and abuſes as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himſelf, while he diſpoſed of money to others with a hand ſo ſparing, that even his own creatures felt ſevere poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jaghires to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or diſtant, friends or ſtrangers, were turned againſt him, and wiſhed his deſtruction. Hindoos and Muſſulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight ſigh of the widow ruin the riches of an hundred years.

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[1] A celebrated fakeer ſo entitled.

[2] Anglicè, Ornament of the ſex.

[3] Pharaoh, and a king of Yemmum, or Arabia Felix.

Kokultaſh Khan, foſter-brother to the emperor, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khan Jehaun. His wife, daughter, and whole family, alſo poſſeſſed great influence with the emperor, and claimed from him performance of a promiſe he had made to them of the vizurut. At the ſame time, they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of the ameer al amra. With this view, all their relations and dependants were raiſed to high rank; and a great number of the nobility, diſtreſſed by the pride and rapacity of Zoolfeccar Khan, joined their party. They inſinuated to the emperor, that the ameer al amra entertained deſigns too ambitious for a ſubject, to attain which he would dare to ſhed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to ſeize the throne for himſelf, or, if he found that too dangerous, to beſtow it on [*]Ali Tibbar, or another of the confined princes, more favourable to his will than his majeſty.

The weak Jehaundar, unendowed with the leaſt judgment or courage, was alarmed almoſt to madneſs with the frightful picture of his own ſituation; but he had not firmneſs to oppoſe the dreaded evils, nor ſenſe to keep his fears ſecret. The intrigues of Kokultaſh Khan ſoon became evident to the whole court, and only ſerved to awaken the vigilance of the ameer al amra, who took meaſures for his own ſafety, by removing his enemies. Rooſtum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and ſome others, were put to death, and a great number of the nobility laid under confinement on various pretences. The family of the late [1] khankhanan was reduced ſo low as to want the common neceſſaries of life. In ſhort, the diſpoſition of the ameer al amra changed altogether from gentleneſs to the higheſt pitch of tyranny, ſo that he now puniſhed with cruelty the perſons who had years before knowingly, or otherwiſe, given him the ſlighteſt cauſes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of Bedar Bukht, and frequently warned the late emperor againſt his aſpiring views, had alſo been the friend and confidant of his mortal enemy the khankhanan, and of a different party in the late ſtruggle, had not a hope of eſcaping from his hands, or thoſe of Jehaundar Shaw, who had commanded me to be ſearched for, and put to death. Thinking it in vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I had written the following verſes, and ſent them to him by my grandſon, Meer Einaiut Oolla, who was much in his favour.

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[*] The only ſurviving ſon of Azim Shaw, ſon of the emperor Aurungzebe.

"My anceſtors were attached to [2] Ali without views of gain. I "am of the family of Ali; thou art the [3] Zoolfeccar of [4] Hydér. "Remember, I have no chief but thee. I repent of my faults in "ſome degree, and am come aſhamed to thy tribunal. Though I "am meaner than words can expreſs, yet I am of the [5] family of "which thou art head. Thou art now the guardian of our ho-"nour: look not at me, but upon our mutual anceſtors."

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[1] The celebrated Monauim Khan.

[2] The ſon-in-law of Mohammud. Here it means Azeem al Shawn.

[3] A two-bladed ſword of Ali's.

[4] A title given to Ali.

[5] A ſyed, or deſcendant from the prophet's daughter Fatima, by Ali.

At firſt he did not trouble himſelf to open the paper, upon which I ſent a ſecond time, when he peruſed it with attention, and deſired the meſſenger to call me to him; but I did not comply with his invitation, to which I anſwered, that he had prevailed with promiſes of ſafety on many to viſit him, and afterwards confined or put them to death; that if ſuch was his deſign towards me, there was no occaſion to uſe art, as I would of my own accord put on my ſhroud, and come prepared for the worſt before him. To this he anſwered, by ſolemn oaths, that he meant no injury towards me; ſo that I was ſatisfied, and went to viſit him without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed, as uſual, and he roſe from his muſnud to ſalute me, behaving every way with much kindneſs, and more than I expected; after which he diſmiſſed me, with aſſurances of protection. He the ſame day aſked the emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately paſſed; but his majeſty obſerved, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his ſervice. The ameer al amra too made me promiſe, that I would not accept of any office in the ſtate, otherwiſe than through his patronage. I complied with his deſire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a ſtate which had in fact no head; for the miniſtry was a collection of petty tyrants, and abuſers of power.

During the nine months in which Jehaundar Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire, I did not attempt to procure an office, but lived in perfect retirement, except that I now and then unavoidably paid a viſit to the ameer al amra, who would frequently aſk my advice in public affairs, which I gave him to the extent of my underſtanding.

In the height of this power and authority, (while the claim of *I am, and no one elſe*, was gaining ſtrength,) all at once a report was heard that the prince Ferokhſere, ſon to the martyred Azeem Ooſhawn, had marched from Bengal towards Bahar, intending to revenge his father's death, and ſeize the throne. Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra, though they feigned to diſbelieve the intelligence, and deſpiſe the attempt, yet in their hearts were ſtruck with dread. Great numbers of the Imperial ſervants wiſhed ſecretly for the ſucceſs of the rebellion. While the ameer al amra was fortunate, he ſaw affairs in a proper light: while at Lahore, he had repeatedly adviſed Jehaundar Shaw not to remain more than a week in Dhely, but to proceed to Agra, and, if neceſſary, to the eaſtern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impreſſed fully in the breaſts of his ſubjects, while Ferokhſere refuſed to pay allegiance. Jehaundar Shaw, on his arrival at Dhely, faſcinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his miniſter, and choſe to remain, indulging himſelf in low pleaſures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokultaſh Khan and his party perſuaded him that the ameer al amra had excited this rebellion, and engaged privately with Ferokhſere, to whom he would deliver his majeſty a priſoner, ſhould he prevail on him to march from the capital. Theſe ideas ſerved to increaſe the fears of the weak Jehaundar Shaw. He would often exclaim, "I did not "kill Azeem Ooſhawn: it was the ameer al amra, who muſt now "go and anſwer the claims of his ſon, for ſatisfaction. What "have I to do with the buſineſs?" The other plans of an emperor, who was thus overcome by fear, may eaſily be gueſſed, and need no explanation. The ameer al amra, offended at the diſtruſts of his maſter, did not attend as he ought to buſineſs, but employed his time alſo in pleaſure, and forwarding his own immediate intereſt.

Syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah, and his brother Houſſein Ali Khan, had gained great honour by their behaviour in the ſervice of Azim

Shaw, after whoſe death they had attached themſelves to Azeem Ooſhawn, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter of the province of Bahar. During the late conteſts for the empire, they had, for their own ſafety and that of the country, expended, without orders, conſiderable ſums of the Imperial revenues in the maintenance of extraordinary troops, which had offended Jehaundar Shaw. On his acceſſion to the throne, he appointed Rajee Khan Maneckporee to the government of Allahabad, who ſent one of his relations, with a conſiderable force, to take poſſeſſion; but he was oppoſed, defeated, and driven back by Abdoolla Khan. Ferokhſere's rebellion juſt then ariſing, the ameer al amra thought it adviſable to diſpatch an Imperial firmaun, approving Abdoolla Khan's conduct, and confirming him in his government, diſclaiming alſo any aſſent to the attempts to remove him. Abdoolla Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours, in order to avoid farther trouble from the court, but which he had reſolved to ſerve no longer than he found neceſſary. When Ferokhſere arrived in Bahar, he was immediately joined by Syed Houſſein Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him, as the ſon of his patron Azeem Ooſhawn. The court of Dhely weakly imagined, that Abdoolla Khan would ſtop the progreſs of the prince at Allahabad. Firmauns of encouragement, and great promiſes, were diſpatched to purchaſe his loyalty, inſtead of armies to ſecure it. While the rebellion was daily gathering force, the emperor's miniſters, divided againſt each other, were undetermined how to act. Kokultaſh Khan refuſed to take the command of an army, if the ameer al amra remained at Dhely, pretending that the emperor was not ſafe in his hands; and the latter did not think it proper to quit the court, where, in his abſence, ſuch a dangerous rival muſt poſſeſs the whole power. Jehaundar Shaw did not dare to think, much leſs to fix, whom he ſhould entruſt with the command of the army; for ſo great was his fear, that one day, when the daughter of Kokultaſh Khan, preſuming on her familiarity, inſiſted that her father ſhould be declared vizier, and the ameer al amra be ſent from Dhely, he replied with terror, “ Hold your peace, or [1] he will put us all to “ death in an inſtant.”

At laſt it was reſolved that [2] Aiz ad Dien, eldeſt ſon of Jehaundar Shaw, ſhould march at the head of an army againſt the rebels, under the tutelage of Khaja Houſſein, Khan Dowran, ſon-in-law to Kokultaſh Khan, a weak man, who never, unleſs in dreams, had ſeen a ſhot fired. The troops who marched with him did not amount to ſix thouſand, though there were among the officers many ameers of the higheſt rank. On his arrival at Agra, he was joined by Iauts, Rajapootes, and great numbers of other rabble; alſo many Fojedaurs, who covered ground, but were no better than droves of cattle to devour proviſions; however, he had with him a fine train of artillery. From Agra, Aiz ad Dien marched without delay to [3] Etawa, and from thence to [4] Cudjwa, where Ferokhſere had arrived with the two Syeds, and near ſeventy thouſand horſe and foot, moſtly adventurers, who ſerved from the hope of benefiting themſelves by a revolution.

The two camps being thus near, on the 29th of Showal, early in the morning, Syed Abdoolla Khan and others advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's poſition. This brought on a ſkirmiſh, and afterwards a cannonade on both ſides, which continued till night, without much execution; but Khan Dowran, a perfect ſtranger to war, was much alarmed at the dangers of his new profeſſion. He thought he ſhould do the ſtate moſt ſervice by ſaving the prince from (as he conceived) inevitable deſtruction. Accordingly, unknown to his officers, about midnight he fled with him in a woman's covered pallekee, ſtopping not till he arrived at Agra, from whence he diſpatched to court accounts of his gallant ſervice, and zealous care of the heir-apparent. The officers of his army, in the morning, finding their chief had fled, laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance, and each provided for his own ſafety. Moſt went over to the ſervice of Ferokhſere, and the remainder returned precipitately towards Agra. Syed Abdoolla Khan would not allow them to be purſued, and, what has often perplexed my underſtanding to account for, adviſed Ferokhſere to halt ſome time in the camp of the fugitives, inſtead of following his ſucceſs with rapidity. The news of the defeat reaching Dhely, threw the court into ſuch confuſion, that no other plan was at firſt reſolved on, than to wait the enemy's approach in the vicinity of the city, and hazard all in one engagement, as it was expected time would not allow of more diſtant operations. Accordingly, Rajee Khan was ordered with the Imperial artillery to [1] Feridabad, where ground was choſen for the general camp, and preparations made for the emperor's march.

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[1] Meaning the ameer al amra.

[2] Elder brother of the late, and uncle to the preſent emperor.

[3] A large town on the Jumna, thirty coſs to the eaſtward of Agra.

[4] A conſiderable town in the diſtrict of Kora, where Aurungzebe and Sultan Shujah formerly engaged.

As ſoon as it became known that Ferokhſere had not advanced beyond the field of battle, Jehaundar Shaw altered his reſolution of remaining at Dhely, and began his march towards Agra. On his arrival there, the ameer al amra opened the royal treaſures, which had been for ages laid up, diſpoſing of money, jewels, plate, and valuable effects, to the amount of two corores of rupees, among the troops, who now were ſeventy thouſand horſe, and foot without number. Moſt of them too were veteran ſoldiers, but little affected to the royal cauſe, as they had experienced ſlights in the days of peace, and knew this profuſe bounty to proceed only from the neceſſity of the times. The Imperial army encamped at firſt near the gardens of Dehera; but, upon intelligence arriving that Ferokhſere had advanced to Eatimadpore, near the river, intending to croſs, it was thought adviſable to move along the oppoſite bank to prevent him. Both armies remained a week thus, in ſight of each other; and people of judgment decided, in their own minds, that victory would be to that prince who ſhould firſt croſs and attack his rival.

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[1] About three coſs from the city.

A.H. 1124. A.C. 1712.

On the night of the 13th of Zeekaud, intelligence was received that the Syeds had, by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gaow Ghaut, and croſſed the river with their advanced corps and all the artillery; alſo that Ferokhſere, with his whole army, intended to follow the next day. I was preſent when this news was brought to the ameer al amra, who, on hearing it, was viſibly affected and alarmed, as were all the nobility then preſent in his train. Orders of march were iſſued for the next morning, to meet the enemy, whoſe camp was, by the late manœuvre, removed ten coſs diſtant. Jehaundar Shaw moved accordingly, but halted before he had ſight of the enemy, encamping on the broken ground and hollow ways on the banks of the Jumna. This diſpirited the troops, who judged that their generals had choſen a ſtrong poſition, more from fear of a ſudden attack, than proper caution and judgment of the ground. The next morning, however, the Imperial army continued the march to Secundra, and the day after to Gaow Ghaut, where the enemy's troops were ſtill croſſing, and Ferokhſere had not as yet come to this ſide. The ameer al amra, with a number of nobility, advanced in front to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, as did alſo the emperor, when he arrived with the main army. The Syeds, notwithſtanding their inferior force, drew up to receive them, but the ameer al amra choſe to defer taking advantage of his preſent ſituation, as it was now late in the afternoon, and the fall of night, during an action, would create much confuſion and diſorder. With this idea, he choſe to encamp on the banks of a rivulet which ran between him and the enemy.

Early in the morning of the next day, which began with heavy clouds and rain, I went to viſit the ameer al amra, who was juſt come from the emperor's tents, and preparing to take ſome refreſhment; upon which, I aſked my diſmiſſion, and returned to my own tents, intending to ſleep. By this time the clouds had diſperſed, and the ſun ſhone very bright. A little after mid-day, I was alarmed by the drums beating to arms, and a confuſed noiſe, when running to my door, I ſaw the ameer al amra mounting his elephant with great haſte, and undreſſed; upon which I got ready my attendants, about forty perſons, and followed him with all poſſible ſpeed. Upon my arrival, he was ſtanding upon elevated ground, looking round him. I aſked what had cauſed the alarm, when he replied, that the enemy were drawing out their line, ſeemingly with intentions to cannonade. Our troops now haſtened to form, the ameer al amra in front, and upon his right Kokultaſh Khan. In the center ſtood the emperor, Jehaundar Shaw, attended by Rajee Khan, with the royal artillery. To the left were the troops of Mortuzza Khan Bukſhi, and many other amras. The enemy's army advanced ſlowly till within reach of cannon-ſhot, when they played upon us with their artillery and rockets, which were anſwered with great fury by Rajee Khan. Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impoſſible for a ſingle perſon to ſee more of the operations than thoſe on the immediate ſpot of his own poſt; how then can I ſay, I diſtinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurungzebe a long account of one of his battles with Dara Shekkoh. The emperor obſerved at the concluſion, that he muſt certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had ſeen ſo minutely, as he himſelf, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had deſcribed. In ſhort, I ſhall only relate what I ſaw. After a cannonade of ſome time, I ſaw two bodies from the enemy's line charge our's, one with a red, and the other with a green ſtandard. The former was the corps of Raja Jubbeeleh Ram, and the latter of Syed Houſſein Ali Khan. Obſerving that our right flank was much expoſed, I remarked it to the ameer al amra, who immediately diſpatched orders for Abdul Summud Khan to move with the miſtreſs's troops to that quarter. The firſt body of the enemy charged directly on Kokultaſh Khan, and the other puſhing through the line of our artillery, which was deſerted as it approached, attacked the center, in which was Jehaundar Shaw. Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confuſion took place, as the men, elephants and horſes, became entangled among the ropes of tents, carriages and baggage. Numbers fled, but the ameer al amra remained firm, and the enemy was kept long at a ſtand by his gallantry and ſteadineſs; but he was ill-ſupported, though Syed Houſſein Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Jubbeeleh Ram was not more ſucceſsful in his charge on Kokultaſh Khan. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but juſt then Syed Abdoolla Khan, with a great body, charged Jehaundar Shaw, who ſtood with his troops, already alarmed, ſome diſtance in the rear of the ameer al amra. They ſcarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confuſion on all ſides, while the women's elephants, thoſe of the jewel office and treaſury, ran here and there, carrying diſorder along with them. Jehaundar Shaw haſtily joined the corps of Kokultaſh Khan, and was purſued by the enemy, who thus forced him between two fires, Ferokhſere having now come to the aſſiſtance of Jubbeeleh Ram, who had renewed the attack in front. Kokultaſh Khan was killed after a ſhort ſtruggle, his troops diſperſed, and Jehaundar Shaw diſappeared from his elephant. This made the rout general, and only the ameer al amra kept his ground. When he could hear no tidings of the emperor, and it became dark, he retired ſlowly to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, diſpatching meſſengers on all ſides in ſearch of his ſovereign, with the hopes, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and making one more effort the next day; but all in vain. Jehaundar Shaw could not be found; upon which he thought proper to provide for his own ſafety, and marched away towards Dhely. Thus, in the ſpace of a few hours, was this government deſtroyed, and another poſſeſſed of abſolute authority. The robe of empire graced the auguſt perſon of Ferekhſere, who ſounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the ſervice of any one, and had no enmity to either party, yet I remained in the field till the ameer al amra had retired, when thinking it beſt to provide for my own ſafety, I entered the city with about a hundred perſons who ſought my protection, and retired to one of my own gardens, where I enjoyed perfect repoſe from my fatigues. In the morning, I wrote to Syed Abdoolla Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendſhip, expreſſing my deſire of leave to viſit him, and be introduced to the new emperor. He replied to my letter with much kindneſs, and I paid my compliments to him as he paſſed by my dwelling the following day, when he carried me with him to his own houſe. The emperor Ferokhſere entered the city the next morning, to pray in public at the tomb of Akber, on his return from whence I was allowed to pay him my reſpects. Syed Abdoolla Khan marched towards Dhely the day after, and choſe to take me with him, which I did not think proper to decline. As yet, it was not certainly known to what quarter Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra had fled. Aſſud ad Dowlah, father to the latter, was in the command of Dhely, and had in his power the confined princes. It was apprehended that the ameer al amra would retreat to Dekkan with his maſter, but he not finding that prince, thought proper to go to Dhely. Jehaundar Shaw, who had ſhaved his beard and whiſkers to prevent being known, arrived a ſhort time before the ameer al amra, at the palace of Aſſud ad Dowlah. This was ſoon known throughout the city; upon which the friends to the family of Azeem Ooſhawn ſurrounded the houſe, and demanded the delivery of the royal fugitive into their charge. Aſſud ad Dowlah was obliged to confine him, to ſuppreſs their clamours. Making a virtue of neceſſity, he wrote a petition to Ferokhſere, implying, that he had impriſoned Jehaundar in his own houſe, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his diſpoſal. In return, firmauns were diſpatched applauding his conduct, forgiving all paſt offences, and continuing him in the vizarut, with Syed Abdoollah Khan as his deputy, to whoſe care Jehaundar Shaw was for the preſent to be entruſted. All theſe gracious aſſurances ſatisfied Aſſud ad Dowlah, and had ſuch an effect on the ameer al amra, his ſon, that he thought it beſt to remain at Dhely, and wait the emperor's mercy, which he hoped would ſpare his forfeited life and fortune.

When Ferokhſere arrived near Dhely, he commanded Aſſud ad Dowlah and his ſon to be brought into his preſence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return in ſafety to his own houſe, but the latter was led to a private tent, and, after a few queſtions had been aſked him, he was ſtrangled, as a puniſhment for his crimes, and an example to others. His body was afterwards tied with the head downwards on an elephant, together with that of Jehaundar Shaw, who had been put to death in priſon, and expoſed in the new emperor's train, when he made his triumphant entry to the palace; after which, both bodies were thrown into the ſtreet, before the great moſque, and remained ſome days a ſpectacle to the mob. The eſtates of the father and ſon were confiſcated, and their family, which had filled for above two hundred years the higheſt offices of the ſtate, was thus in an inſtant levelled with the duſt, and, like that of [1] Bermekee, totally ruined. Some other traitors were alſo puniſhed with death, which impreſſed the ſubject with reſpect for government, and proved that however, for a time, treaſons might be attended with ſucceſs, at length the proſperity of the houſe of Timur would be prevalent over all oppoſition.

Such is the firſt beaming of the heaven-given fortune of his majeſty, which, by divine bleſſing, is aſcending to the zenith of glory and renown. Praiſe be to God, by whoſe favour the concluſion of my book is auſpicious! and mercy upon the choſen of mankind, Mahummud, his deſcendants, his friends and followers, for evermore! Amen.

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[1] Known in Europe by the name of Barmecides, as mentioned in the life of Haroon al Raſheed, in the Hiſtory of the Caliphs.

FINIS.

PART V.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY
OF
AURUNGZEBE's SUCCESSORS.

PREFACE.

IN the compilation of the following part of my work, I have uſed chiefly the authority of Perſian manuſcripts, a liſt of which is at the end of the volume; and from much converſation with many principal and well informed natives on the ſubject of their hiſtory, I can aſſert the received authenticity of the facts related.

For the account of the ſituation of the preſent emperor, Shaw Aulum, from 1771 to 1779, I owe the chief materials to my friend Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, whoſe long reſidence and connections at the court of Dhely enabled him to obtain the beſt information of public and private tranſactions.

The Perſic Journal of the cruel proceedings of the unprincipled and inhuman Rhohilla chief, Gholaum Kaudir, was written by an eye witneſs on the ſcene of their perpetration, and tranſmitted me by my brother Captain RICHARD SCOTT. In this, and ſuch other materials that would bear it, literality as much as

poſſible

poſſible has been obſerved; but I will not pretend that the following pages are wholly tranſlations, ſome anecdotes having been inſerted from oral information, alſo a few obſervations on characters and circumſtances, of my own. Theſe it is needleſs to point out, as the variation of idiom will diſtinguiſh them from the parts tranſlated.

FEROKHSERE.

WHEN the new emperor Ferokhſere had repoſed a few days from his fatigues, and order was reſtored in the city of Agra, he began his march towards Dhely, and ſhortly after arrived at Khizzerabad, about four miles diſtant from that capital. The next morning [a]Aſoph ad Dowlah and his ſon the ameer al amra came to pay their reſpects, and were honoured with dreſſes and other marks of the royal favour; after which the former was diſmiſſed to his own tents, but the latter commanded to wait. He accordingly remained in the divan with Khaujeh Aſſim. In a little time a dinner was brought in from the royal table for the ameer al amra, who at firſt refuſed to eat, ſuſpecting poiſon; but on the khaujeh's offering to partake, his fears ſubſided, and he agreed to dine. The khaujeh now obſerving, that it was contrary to the rules of court to eat in the [b] divan, propoſed moving to a [c] ſquare of ſkreens in the area before A.H. 1125. A.D. 1713.

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[a] In the Memoirs of Eradut Khan ſtiled Aſſud ad Dowlah, alſo one of his titles.

[b] Hall of audience.

[c] Called in India kanauts. They are made of cotton cloth, ſometimes flowered, but generally in ſtripes of red and white or blue and white, about ſeven feet high, and ſtrengthened with the bamboo cane, ſewed in at five or ſix feet diſtance, which prevent their bellying with the wind. The tents of the great men are always ſurrounded with them, and make a beautiful appearance. The royal tents are encircled with ſkreens nine or ten feet high, which are always plain red, and called ſerra perda.

before it, which they did; but the ameer al amra had no ſooner entered than the opening was ſhut upon him, and Khaujeh Aſſim remained without. At the ſame inſtant two hundred armed men ruſhed into the court and ſurrounded the ſquare.

Half an hour had not elapſed, when Abdoollah Khan, ſuperintendant of the khowauſs, or domeſtic ſervants, came out from the emperor's apartment, and entering the ſkreens, ſpoke as follows to the ameer al amra.

"His majeſty commands you to inform him why you [a] con-"fined Kaum Bukhſh in Dekkan, and illuſed his friends, contrary "to loyalty and reſpect to the emperor?" The ameer al amra unheſitatingly anſwered,

"I confined the prince by the orders of Aulumgeer, his ſovereign "and mine. Had he commanded me to impriſon my own father, "I ſhould have readily complied." Abdoollah Khan then withdrew, but inſtantly returning from the emperor, ſaid,

"You were the general and chief miniſter of [b] Azim Shaw, "was it acting loyally to deſert him in the field, and ſeek your "own ſafety by flight?" He anſwered,

"While he was alive I kept the field, but when he was ſlain, "I dared not to oppoſe a prince of the blood without a rival of "equal dignity at the head of our army." Upon this, Abdoollah

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[a] The prince Kaum Bukhſh was confined at the ſiege of Jinjee, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Coromandel, being ſtrongly ſuſpected of a deſign of joining the enemy and rebelling againſt his father Aulumgeer, as related in his reign.

[b] *Vide* Memoirs of Eradut Khan for this tranſaction. The ameer al amra was the principal general of Azim Shaw when defeated by his brother Shaw Aulum.

Khan returned, but coming back ſoon, ſaid, "What were the cir-"cumſtances of your conduct to the martyred prince, his majeſty's "father, Azeem Ooſhawn?"

The ameer al amra anſwered, "He behaved inattentively to "me, and I then attached myſelf to his brother; but in this did "no more than other nobles, who each embraced the cauſe of the "prince he beſt loved, and from whom he received the greateſt "favours."

Abdoollah Khan then ſaid, "Why was his majeſty's beloved "brother inhumanly murdered in cool blood, many days after the "battle, when other princes were allowed to live?" The ameer al amra convinced, by this queſtion, that no ſubmiſſions or entreaties could ſpare his life, angrily exclaimed, "If I am to die, "kill me inſtantly, nor vex me longer with vain interrogations."

Upon this, Lacheen Beg and other [a] chelas ruſhing upon him, threw him on the ground; and having ſtrangled him with a bowſtring, ſtamped upon his breaſt, and ſtabbed him with daggers in ſeveral parts of the body. When quite cold, the corpſe was drawn out with ropes, and caſt without the court of the divan, as a ſpectacle to the populace. His effects and eſtates, with thoſe of his father, were confiſcated to the royal uſe.

The day ſucceeding this tragedy Ferokhſere marched from Khizzerabad, and made his public entry into Dhely with imperial ſplendour. The heads of the late emperor his uncle, Jehaundar Shaw, and the ameer al amra, were carried on poles in the cavalcade; their bodies hanging feet upwards acroſs an elephant, as marks of his triumph. The aged miniſter Aſoph ad Dowlah was alſo compelled to attend the proceſſion, ſhabbily dreſſed, in a palanquin, and accompanied by the ladies of his family, as ſpectators of their own diſgrace. They were afterwards confined in the palace of Khan Jehaun. Raja Soobeh Chund, dewan to the late ameer al amra, had his tongue cut out, and his property ſeized. "Be not "ſelf-ſecure from the retribution of your actions, for every ſeed "ſown produceth its kind." Many nobles and dependants of the late emperor were put to death by the bow-ſtring and other puniſhments. Aiz ad Dien, ſon of Jehaundar Shaw, Ali Tibbar, the ſon of Azim Shaw, and Hoomaioon Bukht, younger brother to Ferokhſere, were deprived of ſight by a red hot iron drawn over their eyes. Owing to the unjuſt ſlaughter and puniſhments inflicted on numbers innocent of crimes, perſons of all ranks were ſeized with horror. The dread of death was ſo great, that many nobles previous to going to court uſed to take leave of their families, and on their return home offer prayers and alms, as in thankſgiving for eſcape from imminent danger.

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[a] Every prince of Hindooſtan has a band of attendants diſtinguiſhed by this appellation. They are ſuppoſed to be always ready to devote their lives, and are too often employed in aſſaſſinations. Tippoo Saheb has a battalion of them, among whom he has enrolled many of our unfortunate countrymen, whom he forcibly circumciſed. They are generally captives taken in infancy, or purchaſed ſlaves educated under the eye of the prince. The jeoghlans in the court of Conſtantinople are of a ſimilar deſcription.

Ferokhſere had not long enjoyed the throne, when a jealouſy aroſe between him and the vizier [a] Koottub al Moolk, which at laſt extended to open contention, and finally occaſioned the downfall of the empire and ruin of Hindooſtan. The vizier, after the victory of Agra, had been diſpatched to ſettle affairs at Dhely, where, without conſulting Ferokhſere, he had diſpoſed of two principal offices to his friends; but the emperor on his arrival wiſhed to conſer them on other perſons. Koottub al Moolk upon this, obſerved, that if, in the very commencement of his office, his advice ſhould not be followed, it would deſtroy his credit as vizier; while Meer Jumlah, Ferokhſere's private favourite, remarked to him, that how far ſoever princes might truſt ſervants with power, yet they ought to keep due deference, and not appoint to important ſtations without orders from the preſence. In ſhort, though this diſpute ended in the vizier's giving up one of the offices to the emperor's choice, yet it left mutual hatred in their minds. But the chief cauſe of confuſion in affairs, and the conſequent diſrepute of the vizier, his brother the *ameer al amra, and all the ſyeds of Bareh, was this: Ferokhſere had none of the qualities of empire, penetration or conduct. He was of low mind and manners, and poſſeſſed only an ill-placed liberality, beſtowing extravagant favours on men without deſert and of low rank. Yet generoſity is ſuch a quality, that, however profuſe, it has its admirers. Perſons eager of gain will praiſe it, and it leaves a good name to the poſſeſſor in this frail world. Ferokhſere was therefore beloved by the common people; but, in fact, he had not the leaſt ability for ſovereign command, or even the loweſt office in a ſtate.

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[a] Syed Abdoollah Khan, appointed vizier with the above title, on Ferokhſere's acceſſion. It ſignifies, The axis of the ſtate.

Meer Jumlah, envious and aſpiring, but void of capacity, ſought ſuperiority over all the nobility; and having ſcattered to the winds the honour and fortunes of Aſoph ad Dowlah and his ſon, accumulated during a century and half, was meditating the deſtruction of the ſyeds. He could not ſee them the patrons of the people and guiders of adminiſtration. Koottub al Moolk alſo, being much addicted to women and luxury, ſought for leiſure, and had entruſted the reins of his authority to his dewan Ruttun Chund, who had been purveyor to his family; a man, rigid in his idolatrous faith, but incapable of directing the affairs of the vizarut, the higheſt office in the empire. From theſe cauſes, contentions daily encreaſing, eventually ruined the imperial authority of the family

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* Syed Houſſein Alee Khan, honoured by this title on Ferokhſere's ſucceſs near Agra.

family of Timur, which had been eſtabliſhed four hundred years, and the ſyeds of Bareh were abuſed as traitors to future time. A world was deſtroyed by theſe enmities, and the empire of Hindooſtan irrecoverably diſordered.

The emperor and Meer Jumlah, with their partizans, had formed a plan for the ſeparation of the brothers, which was, to diſpatch one for the puniſhment of [a] Maharaja Ajeet Sing Rhatoree, who, ſince the death of Aulumgeer, had been guilty of rebellion, by deſtroying the moſques and erecting idol temples in his zemindary, and, as yet, with impunity, owing to the wars of Shaw Aulum with his brothers, the inſurrections of the ſiks, and the ſucceeding broils of the imperial family, from the death of Shaw Aulum till the preſent time. The ameer al amra, Houſſein Alee Khan, accordingly marched with a conſiderable army; and Ajeet Sing, ſeized with dread at his approach, having evacuated the low lands, took refuge in the faſtneſſes of the mountains, with his family and effects. Notwithſtanding the hints he received from court to oppoſe the ameer al amra, he ſent ambaſſadors to beg quarter and forgiveneſs of his offences. As at this period the faction at court having raiſed the flames of diſagreement between the emperor and the vizier, were conſpiring to impriſon him, he wrote repeated letters to his brother, conjuring him to haſten to Dhely. The ameer al amra therefore, being fearful of delay, received the ſubmiſſions of Ajeet Sing, obliged him to pay a large [b] peſhcuſh, to give a daughter in marriage to Ferokhſere, and ſend his ſon to court. After concluding this treaty, he returned to the capital.

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[a] The rajas of Rhatore, called alſo Marwar, were of the firſt conſequence in Hindooſtan; but of late their power has much decreaſed, and a great part of their territory been wreſted from them by the Mharattas.

[b] An offering of money, made on taking poſſeſſion of an office or lands from government, alſo as an acknowledgment of ſubmiſſion on receiving pardon for ſtate offences.

Koottub al Moolk being vizier, and his brother ameer al amra, it was difficult to exerciſe any act of government, ſuch as the conference of honours, lands, or appointment to offices, without their approbation, and they wiſhed nothing to be done contrary to their pleaſure. At the ſame time, Meer Jumlah, the confidential miniſter of the emperor, who had publicly ſignified that his promiſe and ſignature were the ſame as his own, received applications and granted petitions, in order to obtain popularity; but Ruttun Chund, dewan to the vizier, diſpleaſed at his interference, refuſed obedience to the royal orders through the favourite; nor indeed would he forward any perſon's buſineſs without a preſent for himſelf and his patron. For theſe reaſons he was not only hated by Ferokhſere and Meer Jumlah, but by the people; yet, emboldened by the ſupport of his maſter, he behaved with great inſolence. The brothers were enraged at Meer Jumlah, who on his part repreſented their conduct as diſloyal, to the emperor, who was ſo much alarmed, that he wiſhed to ſecure their perſons by ſtratagem, and often tried to effect it, but in vain. His plans were betrayed to the miniſters, and only added enmity to enmity and injury to injury. It is ſaid, that the mother of Ferokhſere acquainted them with the deſigns of her ſon, as ſhe was guarantee to the treaty between them, when the brothers had firſt embraced his cauſe againſt Jehaundar Shaw.

The ameer al amra, on his return to Dhely, requeſted the government of Dekkan, intending to leave Daood Khan Punnee as his deputy in that country, to receive from him a certain yearly ſum, and to remain himſelf at court; but the emperor and Meer Jumlah wiſhed him to depart. This he declined, fearful of leaving his brother alone among enemies. The diſpute on this point grew ſo high, that the brothers left off attending the court, levied troops, and fortified themſelves in their palaces; while Ferokhſere held councils againſt them with Meer Jumlah, Mahummud Ameen Khan, and Khan Dowraun; but from his irreſolution and cowardice, his plans were changed day after day, and nothing was determined. Owing to the rumours of theſe diſſentions, buſineſs was at a ſtand in the capital, ſo that the neceſſaries of life became very dear.

When much time had paſſed in this manner, and mediators interfered, the emperor's mother went to the houſe of Koottub al Moolk, and ſatisfied his mind, by agreeing that his troops ſhould garriſon the citadel, while he and the ameer al amra viſited her ſon. Accordingly, the brothers came to court, aſked pardon for their offences, and complained of the emperor's ſuſpicions of their attachment from the inſinuations of intriguing perſons. Taking off their ſwords, they laid them at his feet, ſaying, "If we are guilty, here are our heads, and there the inſtruments of puniſhment; but if, from regard to our ſervices, our deaths ſhould be uneaſy to the royal mind, diſplace and diſmiſs us from the preſence, that we may gather purity in a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy tombs of our illuſtrious [*] anceſtors. If it is the royal will to uſe our ſervices, and keep us in the preſence, to liſten to the calumny of the factious, and injure and diſgrace us, is contrary to the practice of juſt ſovereigns and the rules of prudence." At length affairs were thus adjuſted, that Meer Jumlah, being promoted to the ſoubadary of Bahar, ſhould be baniſhed the preſence, and the ameer al amra march to Dekkan.

Meer Jumlah was diſmiſſed to his government in a few days after the reconciliation. Nizam al Moolk was recalled from Dekkan, and Daood Khan ordered from Guzarat to Boorahanpore, there to wait the commands of the ameer al amra.

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[*] The grandſons of Mahummud by his daughter Fatima, the wife of Alee.

After theſe arrangements, the emperor, who was recovered from a ſevere [*] illneſs, which had hitherto prevented the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, iſſued orders for preparations for that ceremony. The ameer al amra conducted the feſtivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a ſplendour and magnificence, till then unſeen

A. H. 1127.
A. D. 1714-15.

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[*] It was about this time that the Eaſt India Company obtained their firmaun of free trade from Ferokhſere. The embaſſy ſent to him had been ſome time unſucceſsfully employed, owing to the intrigues of the navob of Bengal, when an accident occaſioned a ſudden and fortunate concluſion to the negotiation. Ferokhſere was ſeized with a diſorder which the ſkill of his own phyſicians could not cure, and he was given over by them. Reduced to this extremity, he was adviſed to truſt his caſe to Mr. Hamilton, the ſurgeon to the embaſſy, who, by an operation, reſtored him to health. During the operation it was reported, that the emperor had died under the ſurgeon's hands; and ſo great was the fury of the populace, that they ſurrounded the houſe of the embaſſadors, threatening to deſtroy them. They were only to be appeaſed by Ferokhſere's ſhewing himſelf to them from a balcony of the palace, and aſſuring them that he had received new life from the ſkill of Mr. Hamilton. Upon this the Engliſh became as much venerated, as they had been before deſpiſed. Ferokhſere conferred great marks of diſtinction on Mr. Hamilton, and promiſed to grant any favour he choſe to aſk. Mr. Hamilton, inſtead of requeſting rewards for himſelf, beſought the grant of the Company's requiſitions; which were inſtantly complied with, and the fees of office remitted. Upon the return of the embaſſy, the emperor was very urgent with Mr. Hamilton to remain in his ſervice, which he declined for the preſent; but promiſed to return, when he ſhould have ſettled his affairs at Calcutta. Among the preſents made him by Ferokhſere, were models of all his ſurgical inſtruments of pure gold. Mr. Hamilton, ſoon after his return to Bengal, died of a putrid fever; and the emperor, not ſatisfied with the account of this event from the governor and council, ſent an officer of rank to Calcutta to examine the truth from the natives, whoſe ſolemn teſtimony and that of the Europeans were taken to the emperor. I had this anecdote from Mr. Haſtings, who tells me, that at his firſt arrival in India there were living witneſſes of the circumſtances of it, and Mr. Hamilton's monument was to be ſeen in the burial ground of Calcutta, upon which the account of them was engraved. In a Life of Ferokhſere, the circumſtance of his recovery by a European ſurgeon is mentioned; alſo the delay of his marriage from illneſs. The Company owe ſomething to the memory of a man who ſo nobly preferred their intereſt to his own advantage.

among the princes of Hindooſtan. Many pompous inſignia were added to the royal train upon this occaſion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and ſeemed to upbraid the faint luſtre of the ſtars. High and low ſhared the feſtivity, and joy thrilled through the veins of all. The emperor came to the palace of the ameer al amra, where the ceremony was performed; after which, he carried the princeſs in the higheſt ſplendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amid the reſoundings of muſical inſtruments and acclamations of the populace.

The ameer al amra, having aſſured Ferokhſere, that in caſe of any breach of the royal promiſe, or deſigns againſt his brother Koottub al Moolk, he would return to Dhely in twenty days, began his march towards Dekkan. The emperor however had recalled Daood Khan, the chief of an Afghaun tribe of tried valour, and poſſeſſing great influence and friendſhip with the Mharattas, from the government of Guzarat to that of Boorahanpore, apparently as deputy to the ameer al amra, but with ſecret orders to oppoſe and cut him off. Daood Khan, on his arrival at Boorahanpore, began to act as if independant; upon which the ameer al amra ſent a meſſage to him, that as the government of all Dekkan had been conferred upon him, it was neceſſary he ſhould not draw his foot from the circle of obedience, but come to meet him ſubmiſſively, or retire to Dhely. Daood Khan, diſregarding this, pitched his camp under the walls of the city, and called to his aſſiſtance Neemajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief, who had been taken into the imperial ſervice by Shaw Aulum, and enjoyed the rank of ſeven thouſand, with ſeveral diſtricts in jaghire in the vicinity of Aurungabad.

The ameer al amra, when arrived near Boorahanpore, repeated his admonitions, but in vain, upon which he marched to puniſh him; and Daood Khan, who regarded himſelf as the hero of his age, was prepared to receive him. The engagement was very bloody on both ſides. Daood Khan had given orders to his elephant driver to carry him to the ameer al amra, whom he was ambitious of attacking in perſon; and notwithſtanding his advanced line, which had charged the artillery of the enemy, was driven back with great ſlaughter, he, with many of his chief officers mounted on elephants, made repeated attempts to break through the foe. His bravery began to alarm the troops of the ameer al amra, ſeveral of whoſe principal dependants were killed and wounded, and among them Meer Muſhriff, the chief officer and favourite of his maſter, who was wounded by an arrow from Daood Khan, and thrown from his elephant. At length Daood Khan approached near the ameer al amra, whoſe army, now ſeized with a panic, fled on all ſides, leaving him with only a few confidential attendants. At this criſis, a matchlock ball ſtruck Daood Khan, who fell dead on the ſeat of his elephant; and the day of his proſperity ſunk into the darkneſs of deſtruction. His followers inſtantly diſperſed, and the ameer al amra ſounded the trumpets of victory, commanding the body of Daood Khan to be dragged at the tail of an elephant round the city of Boorahanpore. Neemajee Sindia, who in the beginning of the action had retired to a diſtance with his followers, came up to congratulate the victor, and his troops plundered the fugitives of his late patron. The effects, horſes, and elephants of Daood Khan were ſeized by the ameer al amra, who, ſome time afterwards, ſent a few of the latter to court.

The following circumſtance is related. Daood Khan, while ſoubadar of Guzarat, had married the daughter of a zemindar of that province, and ſhe was at the time of his death ſeven months gone with child. Determined not to ſurvive her lord, ſhe ripped open her womb, ſo as to ſave the life of the infant, and died. When the emperor received intelligence of the victory gained by the ameer al amra, he was much afflicted, and ſaid to Koottub al

Moolk, that ſo valiant and celebrated a chief, as Daood Khan, had been unjuſtly ſlain; when the vizier obſerved, that had his brother fallen by the hand of the Afghaun, his majeſty would have been of a different opinion.

During this year, by the well conducted valour of Abd al Summud Khan, Bunda, chief of the ſiks, who had pretended to royalty, and committed great depredations in the province of Lahore, was taken priſoner, and received the juſt reward of his crimes. He was [a] lineally deſcended from an adopted ſon of Nannuk Shaw, the founder of the religion of the ſiks, in the reign of the emperor Baber. Nannuk was the ſon of a Hindoo grain merchant of the Kuttree tribe, and being a youth of good capacity and pleaſing manners, engaged the notice of ſyed Houſſun, a celebrated dirveſh, by whoſe inſtructions he made great progreſs in learning, and became an admirer of the ſyſtems of ſpeculative and contemplative divinity of the muſſulmaun devotees. Having ſelected ſome of their tenets, he tranſlated them into the Punjaubee dialect, with additions of his own, and called the compoſition Kirrunt, which became the guide of his diſciples, who at firſt formed only a religious ſect, without laying claim to political conſequence. Nannuk left two ſons, but neither of them aſſumed the ſupremacy of their order, which was given by election to Angud, one of their father's followers, who held it thirteen years. He, having no ſon, was ſucceeded by a diſciple, who preſided over the order twenty two years, and though he had ſons, he placed Ramdaſs, his ſon in law, in the direction. Ramdaſs lived only ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Goorroh Arjun, whoſe ſon Hir Govind inherited his dignity. Hir Govind's eldeſt ſon dying, he was ſucceeded by his grandſon, Hir Roy, who after ſeventeen years left this world, and was ſucceeded by his infant ſon Hir Kiſhen. He having no iſſue, his uncle Teeghe Bahadur, younger ſon of Hir Govind, was elected, but was put to death as a dangerous heretic in the ſeventeenth year of Aulumgeer's reign, he having collected his followers, and levied contributions from the inhabitants of his neighbourhood, in conjunction with Hafiz Adam, a muſſulmaun devotee, and his votaries. Some time after the death of Teeghe Bahadur, his ſon Goorroh Govind, having collected his followers, gave them arms and horſes, which till his time they had never uſed, and began to commit depredations; but he was ſoon obliged to fly, and two of his ſons, being taken priſoners, were put to death. Being deſirous of returning to his home, he prevailed on ſome Afghauns to conduct him, diſguiſed as one of their devotees, through the army ſtationed at Sirhind; and for the remainder of his life kept himſelf retired, having loſt his faculties in grief for his ſons. He ordered his diſciples to wear blue, and leave their beards and the hair of their heads unſhaved, which they do to this day[*]. He was ſucceeded by Bunda, one of his followers, who was alſo called Goorroh Govind. This man obtained great power; and while Shaw Aulum was in Dekkan againſt Kaum Bukhſh, collected his followers, to revenge the death of his predeceſſor's ſons. He committed the greateſt cruelties on the muſſulmauns, in every advantage ſhewing no quarter to age or ſex, and even ripping up women with child. The emperor Shaw Aulum found it neceſſary to march in perſon againſt him, and he was beſieged in the fortreſs of Loeh Ghur, which was taken, but Bunda found means to eſcape, and raiſe new inſurrections.

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[a] This is contradicted by other writers, who ſay he was of obſcure parentage; but the ſiks believe this account of his deſcent, or affect to do ſo.

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[*] The ſiks admit proſelytes from any ſect. They profeſs deiſm. Their ceremonies I am not informed of. They mourn at a birth, and rejoice at death. It is ſaid, every proſelyte is obliged to drink the water, in which ſome ſiks have waſhed their feet, mixed with hog's blood; a horrid abomination to a pious muſſulmaun. Hindoo proſelytes drink water, in which a few drops of a cow's blood have been mingled.

The death of Shaw Aulum, the diſputes of his ſons, and the unſettled ſtate of Jehaundar Shaw's government, prevented means being taken for the extirpation of the hereſy; and Bunda, taking advantage of the diſtraction of the times, acquired an alarming degree of power. Upon the acceſſion of Ferokhſere, Iſlaum Khan, ſoubadar of Lahore, was ſent againſt him, but defeated with great ſlaughter; upon which Bazeed Khaun, fojedaur of Sirhind, was commanded to puniſh him, and took the field. He was aſſaſſinated in his tent, when alone at evening prayers, by a ſik, commiſſioned for that purpoſe by Bunda, and the murderer eſcaped unhurt. Abd al Summud Khan, governor of Kaſhmeer, was now promoted to the ſoubadary of Lahore, and ſent againſt the rebels with a great army. After many ſevere engagements, he forced Bunda to take refuge in a fortreſs, which was blockaded ſo effectually, as to cut off every ſupply. The garriſon was reduced to the neceſſity of eating cows, horſes, aſſes, and other animals forbidden by their laws; when at length, having no proviſion of any ſort left, and being reduced to the extremity of famine and diſeaſe, they begged for quarter. Abd al Summud Khan, having planted a ſtandard on the plain, commanded them to come out and lay their arms under it, which they did. He then divided the meaner ſort among his chiefs, who cut off their heads, and threw their bodies into a river near the fortreſs. The chiefs and perſons of rank he put in chains, and placed them upon camels and aſſes, with caps of paper on their heads, and proceeded with them to Lahore in this manner, to excite the deriſion and inſults of the populace. The mother of Bazeed Khan, whoſe murderer had been rewarded by the ſiks, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of Tara Sing, upon his being pointed out to her in the proceſſion, threw down a heavy ſtone from the roof of her houſe as he paſſed, and killed him on the ſpot, in revenge for the death of her ſon. After ſome days, Bunda and the other captives were ſent to Dhely; through which he was carried in an iron cage upon an elephant, dreſſed in a robe of gold brocade, and upon his head a red turban, embroidered with gold. Behind him ſat a ſoldier with a drawn ſabre. Preceding him were borne by perſons mounted on elephants numberleſs heads of his diſciples on long poles, alſo a cat upon a ſtaff, to denote that not an animal belonging to him was ſpared from ſlaughter. After his elephant came, tied two and two upon camels, ſeven hundred and forty priſoners, having each a hand bound to his neck. Upon their heads were fantaſtic caps, and they wore habits of ſheep ſkins, with the wool outwards. The ſiks bore the inſults of the populace with the greateſt firmneſs, and ſteadily refuſed the emperor's offers of life if they would embrace the Mahummedan faith. They were put to death, an hundred each day, on the enſuing ſeven days. On the eighth, Bunda and his ſon, with their remaining friends, were executed without the city. They were carried to the place of execution in ridiculous proceſſion. A dagger was put into the hands of the chief, who was commanded to kill his infant ſon; but refuſing, the child was ſlain by the executioner, his heart torn out, and forced into the father's mouth. Bunda was then put to death, by the tearing of his fleſh with red hot pincers and other tortures, which he bore with the greateſt conſtancy; and had he not inflicted ſimilar cruelties on others, he might be regarded as a martyr to his faith. It is ſaid, he made the following reply to Mahummud Ameen Khan, who had remonſtrated with him on his conduct: "When the ſins of "a people become exceſſive, the divine Avenger ſends forth among "them a tyrant, like myſelf, to puniſh their crimes; but when "the meaſure of juſtice is filled, commits him to the hands of one "more powerful, that he may receive the reward of his actions. "What are the cruelties and oppreſſions of the wicked, if they "ſhew not the rod of the Almighty!" [a]

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[a] The ſiks now poſſeſs the provinces of Lahore, Pungjaub, and Moultaun, with great part of Dhely, and bands of them have more than once made inroads on the navob vizier's dominions, but have been as often eaſily repelled by

A. H. 1128. A. D. 1715. Ferokhſere had levied a body of twenty thouſand horſe, and ſettled the pay of each man at * fifty rupees per month, which had now fallen in arrear a whole year. Many of the officers having from two to nine hundred men, had ſerved, in hopes of procuring jaghires, without perſonal pay, during this period, at the end of which orders were iſſued to diſmiſs them. At this criſis, alſo, Meer Jumlah arrived at Dhely from his government of Bahar, where affairs were in the utmoſt confuſion, owing to his bad conduct. He had kept up a greater force than he could pay, ſo that the ſoldiers became mutinous, and committed the greateſt outrages and oppreſſions on the inhabitants of the city of Patna, and the diſtricts. Meer Jumlah, dreading a revolt as dangerous to his perſonal ſafety, fled unknown to his followers, and travelling in a covered litter reached Dhely in fifteen days from Patna. His ſudden arrival gave univerſal credit to reports, which had been prevailing, that Ferokhſere was meditating the impriſonment of the vizier; and though he was not admitted to the preſence, but received tokens of the royal diſpleaſure for quitting his government without orders, and went himſelf to viſit Koottub al Moolk, whoſe mediation he begged with the humbleſt entreaties, his conduct was interpreted as deceitful. The diſcharged cavalry, clamorous for arrears, had ſurrounded the palaces of Mahummud Ameen, paymaſter, Khan Dowraun, deputy to the ameer al amra, and Meer Jumlah, which was attributed to the intrigues of the latter, and an intent of ſeizing the vizier in the tumult. Koottub al Moolk being alarmed, collected his dependants from

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by the approach of our army. They have a tradition among them, from their founder Nannuk, that their order and power will be deſtroyed by white men from the weſt; and they regard Europeans as the people deſtined to fulfil the prophecy. Nannuk is ſaid alſo to have told the emperor Baber, that his deſcendants would fill the throne of Dhely for ten generations, and no longer. If ſo, this prophecy may be regarded as nearly verified, Shaw Aulum being the tenth in deſcent; and it is more than probable, that after him an emperor will ceaſe to be acknowledged in Hindooſtan. At preſent he is merely nominal.

* Between five and ſix pounds ſterling.

from the neighbouring diſtricts; and during five or ſix days the capital was a ſcene of confuſion, both the mutineers and the forces of the vizier being under arms, watching the motions of each other day and night. At length Meer Jumlah took refuge with Mahummud Ameen Khan, and Ferokhſere, to calm the ſuſpicions of the vizier, having removed him from his employments, baniſhed him to Lahore, and ſatisfied the ſoldiery; but this, as there was no ſincerity between the parties, did not put an end to their jealouſies; ſo that the emperor never went to hunt or made a movement, but reports aroſe that it was to ſeize Koottub al Moolk, who was always in alarm, and ſurrounded by troops for his protection.

A. H. 1129.
A. D. 1716.
94
1622

In this year died the Navob Aſoph ad Dowlah Aſſud Khan Bahadur, father to the late ameer al amra, in the ninety fourth lunar year of his age. He was deſcended from an illuſtrious family of Turkomauns. His father fled from the oppreſſions of Shaw Abbas of Perſia into Hindooſtan, was raiſed to high rank by Jehaungeer, and married the daughter of a near relation to his empreſs Noor Jehaun. The name of Aſoph ad Dowlah was Ibrahim. He was very early noticed by Shaw Jehaun, who married him to a daughter of his vizier Aſoph Jah, brother to the empreſs above mentioned, and promoted him to the office of ſecond bukhſhi, which he held till the fifteenth year of Aulumgeer, when he was raiſed to the rank of four thouſand, and a few years afterwards to the office of vizier, and higheſt order of nobility, ſeven thouſand. He was continued in employment by Azim Shaw, upon whoſe death he was diſtinguiſhed by Shaw Aulum, appointed [a] vaqueel muttulluk, and his ſon made ameer al amra; but on the acceſſion of Ferokhſere he was diſgraced, had his eſtates ſeized, and his ſon was put to death. Since that period, he had lived upon a ſcanty penſion in a ſort of confinement, but much reſpected by all ranks. It is

reported,

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[a] An officer properly controuling every department, never created but on great emergencies. To Aſoph ad Dowlah it was a mere nominal honour.

reported, that Ferokhſere, in his laſt illneſs, ſent to aſk his pardon for his treatment of him, and to requeſt his advice how to act towards the ſyeds. Aſoph ad Dowlah ſaid, that the emperor had been led to do wrong, by his unlucky deſtiny, and when he had ruined his family, he had deſtroyed the pillars of the empire of Timur; that as he had entruſted the reins of government to the ſyeds, he ſhould ſeek only their ſatisfaction, for diſſention could only render his affairs worſe, and draw down ruin upon his own head. Aſoph ad Dowlah was buried with great funeral pomp, at the expenſe of the emperor, in a mauſoleum, erected by his father for the family.

Ferokhſere, by the advice of his favourites, had appointed ſeveral perſons to offices in Dekkan; but the ameer al amra, regarding them as inimical to his authority, kept them unemployed by various excuſes, and filled their places with his own dependants; which enraged the emperor, who was treated alſo with the ſame diſreſpect by his vizier at Dhely. The dewan, Raja Ruttun Chund, controuled all the imperial offices, ſo as to leave their poſſeſſors only a name. He farmed out in leaſe the [a] royal demeſnes to his own creatures; and the imperial dewan and Roy Royan, whoſe peculiar employ it was to regulate them, finding it in vain to pleaſe the emperor and his miniſters, being diveſted of all power, requeſted to reſign their nominal offices.

Ferokhſere, willing if poſſible to regain his authority, recalled to court Einaiut Oollah Khan, who had been dewan to Aulumgeer, intending to reſtore him to his former office; but this nobleman, fearful of offending the powerful vizier, at firſt declined the offer, nor did Koottub al Moolk, who had experienced his abilities, wiſh for ſuch a rival. He was, however, at length perſuaded by Akhlaaſs Khan, his friend, who tried to reconcile the jarring intereſts, to conſent to the appointment, on a promiſe that Einaiut Oollah ſhould not propoſe any thing to the emperor, or fill inferior offices, without his knowledge and approbation, and agreed that Ruttun Chund ſhould not interfere in the management of the royal revenue. As Koottub al Moolk, on account of the diſpleaſure of Ferokhſere and his own fondneſs for pleaſure, ſat but little in the courts of the vizarut, which occaſioned great delay in buſineſs and vexation to clients, Einaiut Oollah requeſted that he would at leaſt come once a day to his office; which he promiſed, but ſoon failed to perform.

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[a] Leſt this expreſſion ſhould be miſunderſtood, it is ſignified, that the property of the ſoil is all in the emperor, and the landholders are removeable at pleaſure; but they were ſuffered to be hereditary, unleſs in caſes of treaſon, rebellion, or defalcation of revenue, except in thoſe diſtricts above named demeſnes, which were reſerved for the private ſupport of the royal houſehold, and were farmed to renters annually, or in leaſe.

Einaiut Oollah Khan, notwithſtanding his reputed abilities, did not conſult the temper of the times, ſo very different from thoſe of the reign of Aulumgeer. He obtained the emperor's orders to revive the [a]capitation tax upon infidels; which diſobliged Raja Ruttun Chund and all the Hindoos. As many eunuchs, Kaſhmirians, Hindoos, and perſons of bad characters, had procured valuable jaghires, ſo as to leave no ſubſiſtence or rewards for the deſerving, he wiſhed to confiſcate ſome and leſſen others, to make room for them. This regulation interfering with the dependants of Koottub al Moolk, he was much diſpleaſed, and all the deputies in office hated the ſtrictneſs of the new dewan. The agreement between him and the vizier was ſoon broken, and changed into mutual oppoſition. A dependant of Ruttun Chund, who owed a conſiderable balance of revenue to government, was confined for the debt by Einaiut Oollah, who refuſed to releaſe him at the requeſt of his patron; but the defaulter finding means to make his eſcape, took ſhelter in his houſe, and Ruttun Chund would not give him up to the royal officers. The emperor, enraged at his inſolence, commanded Koottub al Moolk to diſcharge him from his ſervice; but the vizier would not obey.

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[a] Thirteen rupees per annum for every two thouſand of property poſſeſſed by the Hindoos. The lame, blind, and very poor, were excuſed.

Another great cauſe of diſagreement between the emperor and Koottub al Moolk was this: Raja Jey Sing had been diſpatched with a powerful army to reduce Chooramun, chief of the Jauts, who had raiſed a rebellion in the province of Agra; the rebel, after a reſiſtance of nearly a year, being reduced to extremity, ſent an agent to Koottub al Moolk, offering to pay him a conſiderable ſum of money, a large peſhcuſh to the royal treaſury, and to come and make his ſubmiſſions at court, if he would procure his pardon and recall the troops of Jey Sing. The vizier, thinking to procure a new and uſeful partizan in Chooramun, obliged Ferokhſere, much againſt his inclination, to accept the offers. The rebel accordingly came to Dhely, and was admitted once to the royal preſence. Raja Jey Sing was greatly diſpleaſed at the eſcape of Chooramun from his hands, and complained to Ferokhſere of the indignity ſhewn him in return for his ſervices. Diſagreeable intelligence alſo arrived from Dekkan, which cauſed freſh diſſentions at court, and at length involved the empire in confuſion.

When the ameer al amra, after the defeat of Daood Khan, had proceeded to the capital of Aurungabad, and began to adjuſt the affairs of his government, he found that Kaundoo Dhearee, who was eſtabliſhed on the part of [*] Raja Sahoo in the province of Khandeſhe, had erected a chain of ſmall forts on the high road between the port of Surat and the city of Boorahanpore. His Mharattas, iſſuing from theſe ſtations, obliged merchants and travellers to pay a fourth part of their property; or, in caſe of reſiſtance, plundered them of the whole, and confined their perſons till they received a ranſom. The ameer al amra diſpatched one of his chiefs, with four thouſand horſe and as many foot, to expell the Mharattas, and raze the forts; but this officer being drawn into an ambuſh by Kaundoo Dhearee, who pretended to fly before him, was defeated and ſlain, with many of his troops, and the remainder were made priſoners. The ameer al amra now ſent againſt the rebels Mohukkum Sing, his dewan, and his own brother Syef ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Boorahanpore, in great force; upon which Kaundoo, not chuſing to hazard an engagement, retired to his maſter Raja Sahoo in the fortreſs of Sittarra, but his followers continued to commit depredations as uſual, cautiouſly avoiding their enemy. Mohukkum Sing, unable to bring the Mharattas to a deciſive action, marched to beſiege Sittarra, when he was recalled by the ameer al amra, who had obtained intelligence of diſſentions at Dhely, and that the emperor had ſent private orders to Raja Sahoo and all the perſons of authority in Dekkan to oppoſe and diſtreſs him. From this cauſe, though he was viſited by Mubariz Khan, ſoubadar of Ahmedabad, and other imperial officers, yet he never could properly eſtabliſh his authority in Beejapore, Hyderabad, or the Carnatics.

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[*] Chief of the Mharattas.

The emperor Aulumgeer, in a war of twenty five years, had reduced the two remaining muſſulmaun [a] monarchies of Dekkan, and taken forty fortreſſes from the Mharattas, when Tara Bhay, widow of Ramrauje, their chief, offered to ſubmit, if he would allow her ten rupees in each hundred from the collections of the country, as original proprietor of the ſoil. The emperor, however, either diſdaining to make terms with infidels, or from avarice, refuſed this offer. Shaw Aulum, his ſucceſſor, entered into negotiations for a treaty with Tara Bhay and Raja Sahoo; but, owing to diſagreements between the two latter concerning the diviſion of the allowance, it was never finally adjuſted; and upon his return from

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[a] Beejapore and Golconda.

Dekkan the Mharattas demanded the choute, or fourth part of the revenues, which the ſoubahdar Daood Khan agreed to pay them, on condition that the jaghires of the princes of the blood and his own ſhould be excepted from this tribute; alſo, that his own agent, Heeramun, ſhould ſuperintend their collections, and that they ſhould not plunder or moleſt caravans. Thus affairs were tolerably conducted during his government, and, at firſt, in that of his ſucceſſor Nizam al Moolk, which laſted only a year and five months; but in the latter part of it the Mharattas renewed their plunders.

The ameer al amra, finding the emperor leagued with the enemy, and his brother the vizier oppoſed at Dhely, thought it moſt prudent to make peace, and bind the Mharattas to his intereſt. He accordingly ratified the conditions granted them by Daood Khan, with the addition of the allowance of deeſmukkee, or ten rupees in every hundred. It was ſettled, that Biſhonaut and Chimnajee ſhould reſide as agents of Raja Sahoo, with a reſpectable force, at Aurungabad, to receive the choute, and that they ſhould eſtabliſh collectors in the diſtricts over the deeſmukkee. Thus, for a time, the calamities of war and its attendant famine, which had vexed Dekkan for a long ſeries of years, ſubſided, and the people began to taſte repoſe; but the governors of diſtricts and farmers of revenue were more diſtreſſed than ever, as they had now three collectors, one from the preſence, one for the choute, and a third for the deeſmukkee. Ferokhſere was highly enraged at the ameer al amra for concluding this treaty, but had not the courage to refuſe his aſſent, or ability to counteract the uſurpations of his miniſter, who directed the affairs of Dekkan as he pleaſed, employing none but his own dependants, and paying no attention to the royal appointments, unleſs he was aſſured of the fidelity of the perſons to himſelf.

About this time Ferokhſere had conferred the government of Boorahanpore, as deputy to the ameer al amra, upon Jaun Niſſar Khan, an old nobleman of reſpected character, and related by adoption to the miniſters, in hopes that he would hearken to his advice, and become more obedient to the imperial pleaſure. Jaun Niſſar Khan arrived at the Nerbudda with only his common attendants, not chuſing to raiſe troops, leſt the appearance of them ſhould excite jealouſy in the ameer al amra, eſpecially as Mahummud Ameen Khan had been detached with an army to Malwa, a province bordering on Dekkan, at the ſame time he received his commiſſion. Reports had already ſpread at Aurungabad, that the motive for the march of theſe nobles was the deſtruction of the ameer al amra, and had magnified the domeſtic train of one into eight thouſand horſe, as an advanced body to an army under the latter of ſixty thouſand men. The ameer al amra, however, was ſoon better informed, by the receipt of letters from Jaun Niſſar Khan, who requeſted an eſcort of troops to bring him to his preſence, his ſmall train being inſufficient to protect him againſt a banditti of Mharattas, who infeſted the high road, under Sunta, a chief, independant of Raja Sahoo. The ameer al amra complied with his requeſt; and upon his arrival at Aurungabad treated him with great reſpect, but delayed ſending him to Boorahanpore, not chuſing to truſt a frontier ſtation to one ſent by the emperor.

This year was alſo diſtinguiſhed by the rapid and extraordinary exaltation of Mahummud Moraud. This man, by birth a Kaſhmirian, and native of the ſame place as [a] Sahebeh Niſſwaun, mother to Ferokhſere, was by her introduced to the emperor, whom he perſuaded that he could eaſily effect the deſtruction of the ſyeds, without coming to open war, or cauſing confuſion in the ſtate. Ferokhſere, gratified by his flatteries, ſuddenly promoted him to the

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[a] *Anglice*, Chief of women.

rank of ſeven thouſand, with ſuitable jaghires, and the title of [a] Rukkun ad Dowlah. He daily conferred upon him the moſt extravagant preſents of jewels and money; alſo the rich bedſtead, ſumptuouſly adorned with precious ſtones, of the emperor Shaw Jehaun. As Rukkun ad Dowlah was a man of infamous character, it was ſuppoſed the emperor was a partner in his vice. By his counſel, Nizam al Moolk was recalled to court from his government of Moraudabad, and Sirbullund Khan from that of Patna, with great promiſes of favour, to join their influence in the deſtruction of the ſyeds. Ajeet Sing, raja of Rhatore and father in law to the emperor, was alſo invited to court for the ſame purpoſe; but immediately upon his arrival, ſeeing the irreſolution and varying councils of the cabinet, he thought it ſafeſt to attach himſelf to the vizier. Nizam al Moolk and Sirbullund Khan, who expected the vizarut and ameer al amraſhip, being told by the emperor that he intended the former office for Rukkun ad Dowlah, reſolved to run no riſque merely to ſerve the favourite, under whom they eſteemed it a diſgrace to rank. Upon this, the diſtrict of Moraudabad was taken from Nizam al Moolk, and being with additional lands created into a ſoubahdary, was conferred on Rukkun ad Dowlah. Many others of the principal nobility were alſo invited to accompliſh the ruin of the miniſters; but all, finding that it was only to aggrandize a worthleſs minion, refuſed compliance. During theſe cabals, the [b] eeed al fitter occurred, when the emperor as uſual went in ſtate, attended by the nobility and troops, to the place of worſhip without the city; and it was rumoured, that on this day the vizier would be taken priſoner or aſſaſſinated. Koottub al Moolk attended, but no attempt was made againſt him. Jealouſies and apprehenſions had now ariſen to ſuch a height, that he no longer thought himſelf ſafe without his brother, and accordingly wrote him to haſten to Dhely for their mutual ſecurity, as the moſt powerful vaſſals of the empire were collected in the capital, and Ferokhſere was daily planning ſchemes for their deſtruction.

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[a] Pillar of the ſtate.

[b] Feſtival on concluſion of the great faſt of Ramazan.

The ameer al amra, enraged by the intelligence from his brother, reſolved to march to his aſſiſtance, and by a deciſive blow to deſtroy the power of their enemies. He had already, in order to alarm Ferokhſere, received with great pomp and ceremony from Raja Sahoo, a youth called Moien ad Dien, ſaid to be a ſon of [a] Sultan Akber, and had requeſted leave to come to court, as the air of Dekkan was unfavourable to his health. Ferokhſere was now filled with dread, and attempted a reconciliation with the vizier; who, in order to gain time for the arrival of his brother, took a freſh oath of fidelity, as did the emperor of regard and attachment; but there was no ſincerity on either ſide. Akhlaaſs Khan was diſpatched to aſſure the ameer al amra of the emperor's regard, and prevail upon him to remain in Dekkan. Koottub al Moolk employed himſelf in attaching to his intereſt, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter, the few conſequential nobility, who had not joined his party, and he ſucceeded. Nizam al Moolk was promiſed the government of Malwa, and Sirbullund Khan that of Cabul. Mahummud Ameen Khan and Khan Dowraun were alſo drawn over; ſo that Ferokhſere had now no perſon of real conſequence or ability attached to him, but Maharaja Jey Sing. He adviſed the emperor to take the field, and truſt his cauſe to the affection of his troops, who would be animated to their duty by ſeeing their ſovereign at their head, and deſert the miniſter, but in vain. Ferokhſere, cowardly, and infatuated, would not quit the walls of his palace, where he continued; at one time laying ſchemes for the aſſaſſina-

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[a] Fourth ſon of Aurungzebe.

tion of the brothers, and at another, on their diſcovery, making abject ſubmiſſions, and imploring forgiveneſs; every effort at freedom concluding in greater reſtrictions upon his authority, and hazard to his perſon.

A. H. 1131. A. D. 1718. The ameer al amra having placed his own garriſons in ſuch fortreſſes of Dekkan as he choſe to retain, and given up the remainder to the Mharattas, as the price of their friendſhip, began his march, with an army of above thirty thouſand horſe, ten thouſand of whom were Mharattas. Near the fort of * Mando, he was met by Akhlaaſs Khan, who had been ſent from Dhely by the emperor to aſſure him of his regard, and to prevail on him to return to Dekkan; but this agent was ſecretly a ſpy of the vizier's. Inſtead of performing the royal commiſſion, he repreſented the reconciliation of Ferokhſere as pretended, magnified the dangerous influence of Rukkun ad Dowlah, and ſet forth the danger the vizier was in from ſo many of the principal nobility at Dhely with troops, particularly Nizam al Moolk, Sirbullund Khan, Mahummud Ameen Khan, and Maharaja Jey Sing, who would certainly ſupport the emperor, ſhould he but conſent to withdraw his favour from Rukkun ad Dowlah. The ameer al amra continued his march, and upon his arrival at Oojein received advice, that the emperor, alarmed at his approach, had paid a viſit to Koottub al Moolk, honoured him by placing his turban upon his head, and that the moſt ſacred oaths of friendſhip had been taken between them; that on the following day the vizier, with Maharaja Ajeet Sing, had gone to court, where the proteſtations of fidelity and favour were renewed; and Ferokhſere had ſignified in full aſſembly to Rukkun ad Dowlah and his dependants, that he would henceforth exclude all jealouſies of the miniſters from his heart. The ameer al amra, on hearing this news, ſaid in public durbar

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* Once the capital of Malwa, now in ruins. It belongs to the Mharattas.

durbar with a loud voice, that if the emperor had ſincerely no enmity againſt him, and ſhould receive him with real favour, he would on his part form no plans but of loyalty and attachment, and would, after receiving audience and delivering up his royal priſoner, return to his government. He was not however ſincere in his declarations, for it has been heard from the mouths of his intimates, that, immediately after, he told them in private, that he was convinced the emperor would ruin his family, ſhould he ever have it in his power, and their only ſecurity was in his dethronement. He proceeded on his march, and at the diſtance of about four days from the capital was met by many of the principal nobility, and his brother's dewan, Raja Ruttun Chund, who related to him exaggerated accounts of the conduct of Ferokhſere and his favourites; which enraged him ſo much, that he ſhewed open contempt to Zuffir Khan and others, who had been ſent from the emperor to compliment and aſſure him of the royal favour. At length they encamped cloſe to Dhely, near the minaret of Feroſe Shaw, and, contrary to the * rules of etiquette, commanded his band of muſic to play on his entering his tents, ſaying, that he no longer conſidered himſelf as a ſervant of the emperor, and would not regard the royal ceremonials.

Ferokhſere, upon intelligence of ſuch a mark of diſreſpect, was overwhelmed with dread, and at a loſs how to act. At one time he reſolved to exert his authority, and take the field, to puniſh the rebel; but his fears ſoon returned, and he had recourſe to mediation and entreaty. Maharaja Jey Sing now again adviſed him to leave the palace, and encamp; aſſuring him, that he would inſtantly be joined by the imperial ſervants, who would double

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* Agreeably to the ceremonial, no perſon is allowed, without permiſſion, to uſe the band or nobut within twenty four miles of the royal reſidence.

double the force of the brothers in number, and puniſh their inſolence; that it was moſt probable their own followers would deſert them, ſhould they ſee his majeſty reſolved, and join the imperial ſtandard, when the miniſters muſt ſubmit to his pleaſure, or fly. Ferokhſere would not be rouſed to action. He now determined to give himſelf up to the mercy of the vizier and ameer al amra, and even commanded all the nobility to receive their orders, and act as they directed. At length he received a meſſage from Koottub al Moolk, that if he would diſmiſs Jey Sing from court, and confer the offices immediately about the royal perſon, ſuch as the command of the palace artillery, the direction of the halls of audience, and intendancy of the domeſtics, on their dependants, and admit a guard of their troops into the citadel, he and his brother would come and pay their obeiſance with readineſs and loyalty. Ferokhſere in reply, aſſured them that he would confer the above offices on Koottub al Moolk and other ſyeds, and receive their viſit on the feſtival of the [a] noroze, which would begin in a few days. Jey Sing, having received the royal orders to quit Dhely without delay, retired to his zemindary of Ambere, unable to aſſiſt his wretched ſovereign.

A. D. 1719. The unhappy Ferokhſere having conſented to the demands of the ſyeds, on the eighth of February their troops were admitted into the palace, and the royal guards withdrawn; when Koottub al Moolk with Maharaja Ajeet Sing entered, and poſted their dependants where they thought proper, to prevent treachery. None of the imperial ſervants, but Rukkun ad Dowlah, Imteauz Khan, Rooſhun ad Dowlah, and a few domeſtics and eunuchs, were allowed to remain with the emperor. The ameer al amra, in princely ſplendour and parade, attended by his army, marched through the city, and entered the palace towards evening, his troops remaining under arms, without, to prevent diſorders in the avenues. He was received with the greateſt diſtinction by the emperor, who ſhed tears, and placed his own turban upon his head; conferring upon him alſo, all the jewels he had upon his dreſs; but the ameer al amra behaved haughtily, refuſed part of the gifts, and having upbraided his majeſty with ingratitude and want of confidence in himſelf and his brother, who had been the inſtruments of his exaltation to the throne, took his leave in an haſty manner, neglecting the cuſtomary ceremonial of reſpect at his departure, and returned to his camp. At the ſame time the vizier, with his followers, left the palace, and the royal guards were readmitted to their ſtations.

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[a] Firſt day of the Perſian ſolar year, which is obſerved as a high feſtival. The emperor is weighed in a ſcale againſt ſomewhat of every ſort, from jewels and gold to the moſt common neceſſaries of life, which are diſtributed to the poor.

Ferokhſere, though thus diſreſpectfully treated by his miniſters, who, it was eaſy to perceive, were not now to be controuled, or reconciled to his authority by his condeſcenſions, took no means to protect his perſon. It is probable, he thought the brothers would be contented with the powers of government, and leave him the name and pageantry of emperor, and that he had reſolved to ſtruggle no longer for greater privileges of royalty. Seven days paſſed after the interview. On the evening of the ſeventh, he ſignified his intentions to hunt in the vicinity of Dhely the following morning, but laid aſide his deſign on the receipt of a meſſage from Koottub al Mooik, that the ameer al amra had fixed on the next, as a lucky day, to deliver up the captive prince he had brought from Dekkan, and to receive his audience of diſmiſſion to his government. It has been ſaid, the brothers had information that Ferokhſere's wiſh to hunt was only a pretence to favour his eſcape from their hands, and that he had reſolved to fly to Maharaja Jey Sing; but this does not appear probable, as he had ſuffered ſo many days to elapſe without attempting to quit the palace, which he could have more eaſily effected in diſguiſe, and unattended, than with his uſual ſuite and cumbrous train of majeſty.

On the morning of the ſixteenth of February, Koottub al Moolk, attended by Maharaja Ajeet Sing, ſome confidential dependants and guards, came to the citadel, and were allowed as before to diſmiſs the royal garriſon, and ſupply their poſts with their own. The ameer al amra then diſpatched his troops to occupy the avenues to the palace, and about three in the afternoon came in great pomp through the city, carrying in his train, upon an elephant in a covered [a] ambaree, the pretended captive prince; but he did not proceed to the palace, alighting at the pavilion of Shaiſteh Khan, ſome diſtance from it, where he remained. The vizier and Ajeet Sing now introduced themſelves to the emperor, and demanded certain conceſſions and appointments for themſelves and friends. Koottub al Moolk in angry terms ſet forth, that in return for the ſervices performed by himſelf and his brother, they had met with only ill-founded jealouſies, and treacherous attempts upon their lives; of which the royal orders to Daood Khan and others to oppoſe them were clear proofs; that they could not any longer ſubmit to his authority, unleſs they had ſecurity for their perſonal ſafety, by all the offices of the palace being committed to the hands of their own friends, upon which they muſt inſiſt. Ferokhſere, notwithſtanding he ſaw himſelf entirely in the power of his enemies, deſired they would wait till the approaching feſtival, when their requeſts ſhould be complied with; which the vizier refuſed, and Rukkun ad Dowlah attempting to pacify his anger, was ordered in opprobrious terms to quit the citadel. This he did in the greateſt confuſion, and was conveyed to his own houſe in the palanquin of

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[a] A canopied ſeat.

Imteauz Khan, not uſing his own, through fear of being moleſted by the troops. Ferokhſere now retreated to the apartments of the women, which he hoped would not be violated by the rebels. Night was advanced, and day, like the fallen ſtar of the emperor, ſunk in darkneſs. The gates of the citadel were cloſed upon his friends. The vizier and Ajeet Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city. No one knew what was paſſing in the palace, and the troops of the ameer al amra, with ten thouſand Mharattas, remained under arms. Early in the morning, a rumour took place that the vizier had been killed by Ajeet Sing, who had reſolved to protect the emperor, his ſon in law; upon which ſeveral noblemen prepared to riſe againſt the ameer al amra. By this time a quarrel had happened between ſome ſoldiers of Khan Dowraun and a party of Mharattas, and while they were engaged, the train of Mahummud Ameen Khan, who was coming to viſit the ameer al amra, appearing, was miſtaken by the Mharattas for an enemy, which ſtruck them with a panic, and they endeavoured to fly out of the city. The populace attacked them, and killed about fifteen hundred, with three chiefs of note. So great was their fright, that numbers quitted their horſes, and ſought ſhelter in houſes, where they were plundered. Mahummud Ameen Khan repaired to the ameer al amra, and exculpated himſelf from cauſing this diſorder. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, Sadaut Khan, his ſons, and other nobles, had now drawn out their dependants againſt the rebels in one quarter of the city, and in another, Munnower Azaree had collected five thouſand men for the ſame purpoſe; Rukkun ad Dowlah and other amras were alſo ready with their troops in another part. The friends of the ameer al amra, alarmed at the rumour of his brother's death, and the flight of the Mharattas, were in a wavering ſtate, and ready to make their eſcape, when their courage was revived by intelligence of the vizier's ſafety. This was ſoon ſpread abroad, and the emperor's

ſervants

ſervants were diſperſed with little bloodſhed or reſiſtance. It was now confirmed that Ferokhſere had been taken priſoner; and the [a]nobut announced to the people from the walls of the citadel, the acceſſion of Ruffeh al Dirjaut to the throne, which appeaſed the tumult, and order was in great meaſure reſtored. Many houſes however were plundered, and the royal ſtables burned, during the diſturbance.

It is ſaid, that Koottub al Moolk repeatedly requeſted Ferokhſere to quit the private apartments, and deſigned to leave him in poſſeſſion of the throne, if he would conſent to certain reſtrictions; but the emperor would not truſt his perſon from the haram. While arguments were carrying on between him and the vizier, the tumult began without the city, and Koottub al Moolk received information from his brother, that no time was to be loſt, as there was danger of a general revolt of their friends and the people. Reduced to extremity, he commanded ſome Afghauns to force the doors, under the conduct of his brother Nudjum ad Dien, who having effected it, though bravely reſiſted by the Georgian, Ethiopian, and Turkiſh women-attendants, entered the ladies' apartments. After much ſearch, he found the emperor, ſurrounded by his mother, wife, daughter, and other princeſſes, who entreated for his ſafety; but, at ſuch a time, in vain. He was forced from among them in the moſt injurious manner, and immediately confined in a dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace. Ruffeh al Dirjaut, the ſon of Ruffeh al Kudder, youngeſt ſon of Shaw Aulum, was then taken from among the confined princes, and ſeated on the throne, with the title of [b]Abou Berkaut Shumſe ad Dien Mahummud. His acceſſion was announced by the ſound of the nobut and firing of cannon, and in a few hours order and quiet were reſtored to the capital. Excluding the reign of Jehaundar Shaw, which by ſome is added to that of Ferokhſere, he ſat on the throne of Hindooſtan ſix years, four months, and a few days, according to lunar computation.

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[a] Band of Muſic.

[b] Son of divine favour, Sun of the religion of Mahummud.

ABOU BERKAUT RUFFEH AL DIRJAUT.

UPON the acceſſion of the new emperor, who was yet in his minority, it was agreed, that Koottub al Moolk ſhould reſide in the palace; which he filled with his own dependants and relations, removing even the eunuchs and other domeſticks for thoſe of his own choice. At the firſt public divan a firmaun was iſſued, at the requeſt of Maharaja Ajeet Sing and Ruttun Chund, to annul the capitation tax on unbelievers, and orders were ſent to the different provinces confirming the governors and officers in poſſeſſion of their poſts. Rukkun ad Dowlah was put under ſtrict confinement, his fortune confiſcated, and proclamation made for the diſcovery of his effects, as it was ſuppoſed he had ſecreted great ſums and valuable jewels given him by Ferokhſere among his friends. Severe tortures were alſo inflicted upon his perſon, to compel a diſcloſure of his wealth. The jaghires and property of all the dependants of the late emperor were ſeized, excepting thoſe of the ranny his queen, daughter to Ajeet Sing, at whoſe requeſt they were ſpared, and ſhe was allowed to return to her father. The *walla ſhawee munſubdars and cavalry, many of whom had ſerved long without pay in hope of obtaining jaghires, and thoſe who had an allowance but were greatly in arrears, were diſbanded *without receiving any part*; and orders iſſued, that ſuch of them as choſe it, might enter the ſervice of the ameer al amra, at fifty rupees per month for each horſeman. Mahummud Ameen Khan was appointed ſecond, and Muzzuffir Khan third bukhſhi. Though Nizam al Moolk, regarding the uncertainty of the times, wiſhed to retire, he was prevailed upon to accept the ſoubahdary of Malwa. Sirbullund Khan, who had marched towards Cabul, but had halted about thirty miles from Dhely to watch the turn of events, was recalled to court, and received a freſh inveſtiture in his government; after which he proceeded. Mahummud Reza was made chief cauzee, and Ameer Khan, an old nobleman of Aulumgeer's reign, appointed *ſuddur al ſuddoor; but all the affairs of revenue and juſtice were in fact only the deputies of Raja Ruttun Chund. No alteration was made in the arrangements of the provinces, leſt it ſhould occaſion diſcontent and confuſion, of which little had yet occurred at any diſtance from the capital.

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* A corps raiſed before Ferokhſere's acceſſion to the empire, by that prince.

The death of Ferokhſere is related in two different modes, both of which ſhall be given, leaving the truth or falſehood on their authors.

It has been confidently ſaid by many credible perſons, that the brothers, without inflicting any perſonal injury, committed him to the care of an Afghaun officer in a gateway of the palace. Ferokhſere one night left his chamber, while his keeper was aſleep, intending to let himſelf down from the battlements of the citadel, by his turban and veſtband; but was ſoon diſcovered by the wary Afghaun, who forced him with blows from the terrace; which diſgrace ſo affected the unhappy prince, that he beat his head with ſuch force againſt the walls of his priſon as to fracture his ſkull, and he died immediately.

Mahummud Aſhum relates the following account, which is given in his own words.

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* An office ſomewhat ſimilar to chief juſtice. The intendancy of charity lands, and penſions to the learned and religious, were alſo under its controul.

" The wretched emperor was confined nearly two months in " a dark chamber, enduring various calamities. A hot iron was " drawn over his eyes, but it did not wholly deſtroy his ſight. " Still anxious for liberty, he ſent repeated meſſages to the ſyeds, " begging mercy and reſtoration to his throne; offering to act in " all affairs agreeably to their pleaſure. Sometimes he flattered " his keeper, Abdoolla Khan Afghaun, promiſing him the greateſt " rewards if he would conduct him to Maharaja Jey Sing; of " which the Afghaun informing his employers, they became fear" ful of his eſcape, and reſolved upon his death. Poiſon was " twice mingled in his victuals without effect; but being adminiſ" tered a third time, he was thrown into violent agonies, and " continued long in torture. During his pangs he invoked curſes " on his murderers, and called on God, whoſe name had witneſſed " the treaty he had made with them, to avenge his cauſe by in" ſtant puniſhment. The brothers, upon this, ordered his death " to be haſtened with the bow-ſtring, but it was with difficulty the " executioners could place it round his neck, as he ſeized it with " his hands, and they were obliged to beat them with clubs, ſo " that he was put to great pain before he expired. It was re" ported, that he was alſo mangled with ſabres; but the author " has heard this contradicted by the executioners themſelves, who " related the above particulars to him with tears of compunction. " The evening of the day following, the body was carried for in" terment to the tomb of [a] Hoomaioon. The populace attended " the proceſſion in crowds, curſing the ſyeds, and lamenting " Ferokhſere, who was much beloved by the meaner ſort for his " great charities towards them. They inſulted the officers who " conducted the funeral by abuſive words, pelting them with ſtones " and filth; nor would any one receive from them the alms " offered as uſual on ſuch occaſions. On the third day after the " burial, all the poor of the city repaired to the terrace on which

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[a] Father of the emperor Akber.

" the corpſe had been waſhed, to renew their mournings; and " having ſubſcribed to procure [a] molowees and buy [b] victuals, con" tinued lamenting and praying all night till the dawn of morn" ing." Thus far ſays Mahummud Aſhum. But ſurely the divine vengeance was ſhewn in the misfortunes and death of Ferokhſere, for he had inflicted thoſe cruelties on others which he now taſted of himſelf. As for the ſyeds they ſhortly alſo received retribution for their actions.

The brothers, now poſſeſſed of abſolute authority and the imperial treaſures, acted as they thought proper. They divided money, jewels, elephants, horſes, and rich plate between them; and Koottub al Moolk, who was much addicted to women, ſeized ſeveral ladies of the royal haram for his own uſe. The new emperor was but a child, and no more than a pageant; but he did not long ſurvive his exaltation, dying of a conſumption, after a nominal reign of four months and a few days; being ſucceeded by his younger brother Ruffeh ad Dowlah.

RUFFEH

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[a] Profeſſors of divinity, or teachers.

[b] At the fateah, or third day after the interment of a corpſe, the relations and friends of the deceaſed meet to pray for the repoſe of the ſoul, when victuals are diſtributed to all comers and the poor. This ceremony is alſo renewed every anniverſary of the death.

*RUFFEH AD DOWLAH.

IMMEDIATELY on the acceſſion of Ruffeh ad Dowlah, a rebellion broke out at Agra. The governor of this citadel, willing to take advantage of the troubles of the ſtate, ſupported by his garriſon and ſome munſubdars of the province, proclaimed as emperor ſultan Nekooſeer, ſon of Akber, youngeſt ſon of Aulumgeer, hoping that he ſhould ſpeedily be joined by Maharaja Jey Sing, and other nobles inimical to the ſyeds. The brothers, upon receiving intelligence of this commotion, marched with Ruffeh ad Dowlah from Dhely without delay, and reached Agra before the governor could receive any important aſſiſtance. He held out the citadel for ſome days, in hopes of ſuccour: but, finding that a plot was laid by his own troops to deliver him up to his enemy, he put himſelf to death, and the place was given up to the miniſters, who puniſhed a few of the officers with death, and remanded Nekooſeer to his confinement. Soon after this, Ruffeh ad Dowlah was taken ill, and being paſt hopes of recovery, Nudjum Ali Khan was diſpatched to Dhely to bring down one of the confined princes to ſucceed him. He fixed upon Rooſhun Akhter, the ſon of Jehaun Shaw, ſon of Shaw Aulum, eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Aurungzebe, who, with his mother, had been confined ſince the death of his father and acceſſion of Jehaundar Shaw. Ruffeh ad

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* Dignifier of the ſtate.

ad Dowlah died before his arrival, after a reign of only three months. This event was kept ſecret for ſome days in the camp, to prevent diſorder, till the arrival of [*] Rooſhun Akhter; when the royal corpſe was ſent in great funeral pomp to Dhely, where it was interred in the mauſoleum of Koottub ad Dien, near his brother and predeceſſor Abou Berkaut.

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[*] Of brilliant ſtar.

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MAHUMMUD SHAW.

ROOSHUN Akhter arrived in the camp at Futtehpore on the eleventh of Zeekaud; and on the fifteenth of the ſame month, about eight in the morning, being the ſelected fortunate hour, added ſplendour to the throne of Hindooſtan by his auſpicious acceſſion. He took the title of [a] Abou Futteh Naſſir ad Dien Mahummud Shaw. He was at this time in his ſeventeenth year. Navob Koodſia, his mother, followed him from Dhely, and being a woman of great judgment and good ſenſe, did not neglect a regard to the circumſtances of the times, but devoted her attention to acquire the confidence of the brothers in all affairs. The dependants of her late huſband Jehaun Shaw would have gone to meet her, but ſhe forbad them, and commanded that no one ſhould approach the door of her apartments to preſent offerings, being reſolved to remove every cauſe of jealouſy from the ſyeds. [b] Fifteen thouſand rupees per menſem were allotted for the expenſes of her houſehold. The emperor was ſurrounded by the dependants of the vizier and ameer al amra, without whoſe aſſent he did not even move from the camp to take the air; and by the inſtruction of his mother, he ſtudied wholly the pleaſure of his miniſters, who conducted the affairs of the empire with abſolute ſway. A.D. 1720.

As the brothers were not ſatisfied with the conduct of Jubbeleh Ram Naggir, governor of Aleabad, who had ſhewn them diſreſpect, the ameer al amra prepared to march to that quarter, but ſuddenly received intelligence of his death, upon which he imprudently obſerved, It was to be regretted that his head had not been ſeen by the people on the point of a ſpear. This ſpeech coming to the ears of Gheerdhir, nephew to the deceaſed, he reſolved not to ſubmit to the authority of the ſyeds, collected troops, and aſſumed independance in his province. Upon this, the ameer al amra moved the royal camp towards Agra, ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Jumna, and, giving out that he ſhould ſoon follow with the emperor, detached ſome troops againſt the rebel. About this time Meer Jumlah was appointed ſuddur al ſuddoor; but the powers of this office, as of every other, were controuled by Ruttun Chund; inſomuch that he even conſtituted the judges of the Mahummedan law in the provinces. It is ſaid, that one day, taking ſome perſons to be introduced as cauzees to Koottub al Moolk, the vizier, laughing, obſerved, that he appointed muſſulmaun divines, though a Hindoo; upon which one of his companions wittily remarked, that the raja, having happily ſettled his temporal concerns, had turned his attention to ſpiritual affairs.

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[a] Father of victory; champion of religion.

[b] About fifteen hundred pounds ſterling.

Gheerdhir, alarmed at the threatened march of the ameer al amra, ſent petitions to court, offering to evacuate the fort of Aleabad, if the miniſters would ſend Raja Ruttun Chund to aſſure him of their friendſhip, and appoint him to another government. His requeſt was complied with, and the ſoubahdary of Oude was conferred upon him, with promotion to a higher rank. This indulgence was conſidered as a proof of weakneſs in the miniſters by the provincial governors, who now began to relax in their obedience. It was alſo rumoured abroad, that the brothers had differed concerning the diviſion of plunder in the citadel of Agra, which occaſioned miſtruſt and jealouſy among their dependants.

Nizam al Moolk, who had been appointed ſoubahdar of Malwa, had by his vigour and abilities reſtored that province to a flouriſhing ſituation; but the reputation he acquired rendered him an object of jealouſy to the brothers, who wiſhed to remove him to another quarter, leſs favourable to his intereſt than the frontier of Dekkan, where he had great influence with the Mharattas. They offered him the choice of four other ſoubahs, under pretence that the ameer al amra wiſhed to reſide in Malwa, as from its vicinity he could better watch the affairs of his government of Dekkan; but Nizam al Moolk, not wiſhing to quit his poſt, excuſed himſelf, and prepared to reſiſt the demand by adding to his force. It is ſaid alſo, that he had the boldneſs to conclude a letter to the vizier with this verſe: "I am not ungrateful, I can ſwear with truth; "I am not like you, I can ſwear with truth." Upon reading this, the ſyeds were enraged, and ſending for the agent of Nizam al Moolk, imprudently treated him with inſult, and ſpoke of his employer in opprobrious language.

Nizam al Moolk, upon information of the behaviour of the ſyeds, reſolved to throw off his obedience to their authority, and ſeek an independant power in Dekkan. To this he looked with greater hopes of ſucceſs, as Mahummud Ameen, and other Tooraunee nobles at court, had aſſured him they were weary of the pride and haughtineſs of the uſurpers, and would try every means to ruin them, which would eaſily be effected if they could be ſeparated, and moſt probably his invading Dekkan would draw the ameer al amra to that quarter. They ſent him alſo a private note from the emperor, expreſſing his encouragement of any plan to extricate him from the hands of the vizier and ameer al amra, and appointing him to the nizamut of all Dekkan. Nizam al Moolk began his march from Malwa, and intelligence of it ſoon reached the A. D. 1720. brothers, who diſpatched Dillawer Ali Khan at the head of a conſiderable army in purſuit. About this time advices were received of the ſucceſs of Abd al Summud Khan, ſoubahdar of Lahore, againſt the rebellious Afghauns, who had raiſed a dangerous inſurrection in that province.

Nizam al Moolk, having croſſed the Nerbudda, prevailed on the governor of [a] Aſere to put him in poſſeſſion of that very important fortreſs, for a large ſum of money; and he was equally fortunate in obtaining the citadel of Boorahanpore on the ſame terms. He was alſo joined by his relation Eiwuz Khan, ſoubahdar of Berar, a general of reputation, and his whole army. Runna, a Mharatta chief inimical to Raja Sahoo, entered his ſervice with two thouſand horſe, and many zemindars flocked to his ſtandard; as did alſo Anwer Khan, governor of Boorahanpore. At this time the mother of Syef ad Dien Khan, a near relation of the ameer al amra, who was on the road to Boorahanpore, fearful of ill uſage, ſent her jewels to Nizam al Moolk, who would not accept them; but treated her meſſenger reſpectfully, and gave her an eſcort of two hundred horſe to conduct her to the army of Dillawer Ali Khan; which action procured him great credit. The ameer al amra, receiving advice of his rapid progreſs, prepared to march in perſon againſt him, though Raja Ruttun Chund and other friends adviſed peace, and that he ſhould yield the ſoubahdary of Dekkan to him, as a favour from the emperor. About this time advice arrived of a dangerous tumult having happened in Kaſhmeer, between the muſſulmauns and Hindoos, owing to ſome religious diſputes, in which the greateſt cruelties were committed on both ſides.

This diſagreeable intelligence was quickly followed by ſome, ſtill more unwelcome to the brothers, of the defeat and death of Dillawer Ali Khan, with little loſs to Nizam al Moolk, who was marching rapidly towards Aurungabad. Koottub al Moolk and the ameer al amra now became irreſolute, and diſtracted in their councils; one time giving out that they would both march with the emperor to Dekkan; at another, reſolving to offer terms; and then again determined on war. The ameer al amra would have taken off Mahummud Ameen Khan, whom he ſuſpected of treachery, but this the vizier would not allow. Amid theſe alarms, on Friday the twenty ſecond of Ramzaun, occurred at Agra a dreadful earthquake. It continued at intervals for many days, during which numerous buildings were thrown down, and many people killed. It was accompanied with a rumbling noiſe in the earth, that filled the hearts of men with fear, and the ſuperſtitious regarded it as the forerunner of downfall to the miniſters, who alſo were not unaffected with this belief.

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[a] Once the capital of the kingdom of Khàndeſhe, reduced by Akber. It is now in poſſeſſion of Sindia, a Mharatta chief.

In the month of Zeekaud it was reſolved, that the emperor, with Koottub al Moolk, ſhould march to Dhely, and the ameer al amra to Dekkan; but this plan was delayed, owing to the jealouſies which the latter had of the Tooraunee nobles, particularly Mahummud Ameen Khan; who, ſuſpecting treachery, had fortified himſelf in his quarters; but this obſtacle was at length overcome, and a new treaty of friendſhip concluded.

The fugitives, to the amount of ſome thouſands, who had eſcaped from the field on the defeat of Dillawer Ali Khan, joined themſelves with Aulum Ali Khan at Aurungabad, who had marched from that city with an army of five and twenty thouſand horſe to oppoſe Nizam al Moolk. Twelve thouſand of this force were Mharattas, whom he detached to haraſs the enemy's army, by laying waſte the country, and cutting off his ſupplies. Nizam al Moolk, having ſent his heavy baggage and women to Aſere, began his march from Boorahanpore, croſſed the Poorna with great expedition, and pitched his camp at Ballapore, where he reſolved to wait and give battle. He was now equally ſucceſsful as before;

Aulum Ali Khan was defeated and ſlain, and his death left the nizam without a rival in Dekkan.

The grief and diſorder which the intelligence of this misfortune occaſioned to the brothers, is not to be expreſſed, eſpecially the ameer al amra, whoſe wives and family were in Dekkan; but he was relieved ſhortly from his fears for their ſafety. The governor of Dowlutabad, though he had ſuffered great injuries from him, had the generoſity to admit them into the fortreſs, where he ſhewed them attention and reſpect. News arrived that Mubariz Khan, governor of Hyderabad, had joined Nizam al Moolk with ſeven thouſand horſe.

After much deliberation, it was agreed that Koottub al Moolk ſhould remain at Dhely, and the ameer al amra move with the emperor to Dekkan; accordingly the former, having taken leave, proceeded towards the capital, and the imperial army purſued the route to Dekkan.

The uſurpations of the ſyeds had long been regarded with diſguſt by the nobility, who in general wiſhed their deſtruction. Mahummud Ameen Khan, who converſed in the Turkiſh language with the emperor, had gained his aſſent to the plans of Nizam al Moolk, and had reſolved if poſſible to procure the aſſaſſination of the ameer al amra. He communicated his intentions to [a] Saaudut Khan, the fojedaur of Biauna, and Hyder Khan. It was agreed to caſt lots who ſhould ſtrike the blow, and the chance fell upon the latter. On the fourth or fifth day's march from Agra, juſt as the emperor had entered his tents, Mahummud Ameen Khan, pretending illneſs, took a ſudden leave, and communicated the plot to Hyder Koolli Khan, commander of the royal artillery, who agreed

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[a] Afterwards navob of Oude, and great grandfather to the preſent vizier, Aſoph ad Dowlah.

agreed to ſupport him with all his force. He had before gained over ſeveral other chiefs to aſſiſt in defending the emperor and his friends, ſhould the followers of the ameer al amra riſe to revenge his aſſaſſination.

The ameer al amra, having conducted the emperor to his tents, had taken leave, and was proceeding to his own quarter in a palanquin. He had reached the gate of the *kullaul bar, when Hyder Khan appeared, holding a petition, and crying aloud for juſtice on Mahummud Ameen Khan. The attendants would have driven him away, but the ameer al amra commanded them to let him approach, which he did, and preſented the paper. While he was engaged in reading it, Hyder Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his ſide. The ameer al amra ſtruck the aſſaſſin a violent blow with his foot, at the ſame inſtant crying out, "Put the emperor to death." The ſhock of his motion overſet the palanquin, and he fell dead on the ground. A hundred ſwords were drawn in an inſtant, and the daring aſſaſſin was cut in pieces; but a band of Moguls who had been placed ready by Mahummud Ameen Khan, now approaching, diſperſed the attendants, and, cutting off the head of the ameer al amra, carried it to the emperor.

Ghyrut Khan, nephew to the deceaſed, reſolved to revenge his death; and collecting what troops he could in the confuſion, marched towards the emperor's encampment; but Mahummud Ameen Khan, Saaudut Khan, and other nobles, had placed Mahummud Shaw upon an elephant at the head of their forces, and drawn out the royal artillery. A ſmart ſkirmiſh however enſued, in which Ghyrut Khan being killed, the dependants of the ameer al amra fell into confuſion, and were ſoon diſperſed. His tents were given up to the plunder of the camp followers, who in an inſtant

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* An encloſure of network round the royal tents.

inſtant levelled them with the ground, ſet them on fire, and ſeized upon the riches they contained.

After this victory, Hyder Koolli Khan ſent offers of pardon and encouragement to Mohukkum Sing, dewan to the ameer al amra, which he accepted. Ruttun Chund had the ſame from Mahummud Ameen Khan; but fearful for his life, he wrote a note to inform Koottub al Moolk of what had happened, and then trying to make his eſcape, was ſeized by the populace, who hated him for his pride and cruelty. After being ſeverely beaten, he was carried to Mahummud Ameen Khan, and put in confinement. Several other dependants alſo ſuffered, and many joined the emperor's party on aſſurances of protection. Mahummud Ameen Khan was now appointed vizier, with the title of [a] Eatimaud ad Dowlah; and Khan Dowraun ameer al amra, with the title of [b] Sumſam ad Dowlah. Their relations and dependants were advanced to honours and high ſtations; and all who had aſſiſted in the defence of the emperor were rewarded by the royal favour. Eatimaud ad Dowlah ſent off the bodies of the ameer al amra, Ghyrut Khan, and others, his relations ſlain in the ſkirmiſh, in great funeral pomp, to be interred at Ajmere in the tomb of their anceſtors. How forcible do the words of the poet appear, when we reflect upon the above events! "This world, my ſon, is not "eternal, therefore expect not conſtancy from its ſmiles; even the "power of Solomon paſſed away. Happy is he who leaves behind "him the reputation of juſtice and mercy." Theſe qualities were fully poſſeſſed by the ameer al amra. His conduct to Ferokhſere and his favourites, was from the neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation; and who will not guard his own life and honour at the expenſe of thoſe who ſeek to deſtroy them? We have never heard of any ſtateſman willingly reſigning them, even among the choſen of God and the

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[a] Reliance of the ſtate.

[b] Sword of the ſtate.

the prophets. How could ſuch eminent perſonages as Koottub al Moolk and the ameer al amra, ſubmit their lives and honours to Ferokhſere, after the important ſervices they had yielded him, to raiſe the conſequence of ſuch wretched favourites as Meer Jumlah and Rukkun ad Dowlah, who were infamous for their vices?

Koottub al Moolk was arrived within forty coſs of Dhely when a camel courier brought him intelligence of his brother's aſſaſſination, in a confuſed note from Ruttun Chund. His eyes were drowned in ſorrow, and life to him now appeared irkſome. Seeing, however, no remedy but patience, he reſolved to proceed to Dhely without delay. Some of his friends adviſed him to march immediately againſt the emperor, who probably was yet but weak, and not joined by the troops of the ameer al amra; but he refuſed this counſel, thinking it hazardous to oppoſe Mahummud Shaw, unleſs ſupported by a rival from the deſcendants of Timur. He thought it moſt prudent to return to the capital, ſet another prince on the throne, ſtrengthen his intereſt by making friends among the old nobles reſident in the city, and collecting more troops. He accordingly proceeded by forced marches, but in ſuch diſorder, that the villagers and banditti plundered his baggage, and ſuch perſons as could not keep up with his main body. One day, the officer who guarded his advanced tents was cut to pieces with his eſcort, and a conſiderable caravan bringing ſupplies was plundered in a village, only three miles from his army. The farmers turned out the managers of the ſyeds' jaghires, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their tents and effects. Koottub al Moolk had ſent an expreſs to his brother Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Dhely, commanding him to place one of the confined princes on the throne, and endeavour to preſerve quiet in the city by contradicting the report of the aſſaſſination, and to levy troops. Nudjum ad Dien, upon receipt of the order, gave out that Eatimaud ad Dowlah was killed, and ſent a force to ſurround his houſe, and keep his family priſoners; but they found it well guarded by truſty dependants, who would not ſubmit to injury. Notwithſtanding his affliction, Nudjum ad Dien made the uſual proceſſion on the [a] eed of ſacrifice, and upon his return from it, ſent to offer the throne to the ſons of Jehaundar Shaw, but neither would accept it. He did the ſame to ſultan Nekoſeer, but he declined it; when the offer was embraced by ſultan Ibrahim, ſon of Ruffeh al Kudder, and grandſon of Shaw Aulum.

On the eleventh of Zeehudje, ſultan Ibrahim aſcended the throne with the uſual ceremonies. A. D. 1720. He was viſited on the ſecond day after by Koottub al Moolk, who prevailed on the nobility at the capital to accept offices under him, and advanced them large ſums of money to levy troops. He entertained every perſon who could bring a horſe and arms, at [b] eighty rupees per month, without diſtinction of good or bad, which however occaſioned much diſguſt to his veterans and thoſe who were well mounted. In a few days he had a promiſcuous army of eighty thouſand horſe, but the greater part ill provided; and it is ſaid, he advanced more than a [c] corore of rupees on this occaſion. Many of the nobles of Ferokhſere's reign were employed, and among them Rukkun ad Dowlah. They received his money, and deſerted him almoſt immediately.

On the ſeventeenth of the month Koottub al Moolk accompanied ſultan Ibrahim, in as great pomp as the ſhortneſs of preparation would allow, from Dhely, and pitched his camp near the [d] Eedgaeh not far from the city. Here he was joined by Gholaum Ali Khan and two other chiefs, who had eſcaped from the emperor's camp. As it was reported that Mahummud Shaw was advancing to the capital

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[a] A feſtival in commemoration of Abraham's offering his ſon.

[b] About ten pounds ſterling.

[c] A million ſterling.

[d] Place of worſhip on the eeds or feſtivals.

capital by the way of Raajepootana, Koottub al Moolk made his third day's halt at the tomb of Koottub ad Dien; but having intelligence of an alteration in the royal route, he moved to Feridabad. He was joined daily by numerous bands of ſyeds from Barreh, ſeveral Afghaun chiefs and principal zemindars, alſo by many dependants of his deceaſed brother, who deſerted Mahummud Shaw after having received ſums of money in advance and other favours. Chooramun, raja of the Jauts, came to offer his ſervices, and preſented three elephants and ſeveral camels, which he had plundered from A.D. 1721. the imperial army. On the ninth of Mohirrim, Mahummud Shaw marched from Shawpore, where he had waited ſeveral days in hopes of being joined by Abd al Summud Khan and Maharaja Jey Sing, but they did not arrive. The latter ſent his dewan with four thouſand horſe; and Mahummud Khan Bunguſh, with other Rohilla chiefs and their dependants, joined the royal army.

On the ninth and tenth both armies moved in order of battle, but did not come to action, though ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detached parties, and Chooramun attempted, but in vain, to capture the royal magazine and the bullocks of the artillery then grazing near the camp. Hyder Koolli Khan, [*] meer atuſh, commanded Mahummud Shaw's advanced line, Saaudut Khan and Mahummud Khan Bunguſh the right, and Sumſam ad Dowlah the left wing. Eatimaud ad Dowlah took poſt with the emperor in the center. Meer Jumlah was entruſted with the baggage of the army, and Aſſud Ali Khan protected the haram. The artillery was ſtationed in the front of the army, and behind it the war elephants in ſtrong armour, with maſſy chains to wield with their trunks.

Koottub al Moolk, having marched from Houſſunpore, pitched his camp within three coſs of the imperial army; and on the twelfth formed his order of battle, but in much confuſion, owing to the irregular diſpoſitions of the ſyeds of Barreh, all eager for pre-eminence. At length Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan took the command of the advanced line, Koottub al Moolk with ſultan Ibrahim took poſt in the center, but there was no regular commanders of the wings. The night of the thirteenth was paſſed under arms; and in the morning, Mahummud Shaw having commanded the head of Ruttun Chund to be ſtruck off and thrown under his elephant, as a lucky omen, advanced to give battle. A cannonade was kept up the whole day, when towards evening the advanced line of the rebels was put to flight and the imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of their ground, but did not puſh this advantage farther. Koottub al Moolk at ſunſet ordered a ſmall tent to be pitched for his repoſe. Both armies remained under arms, and the imperial artillery continued firing all night; which ſo incommoded the enemy, that many chiefs with their followers fled, and in the morning not more than ſeventeen out of an hundred thouſand horſe remained with Koottub al Moolk. He however was yet undaunted, and at daylight charged the imperialiſts. A bloody and long conflict enſued, in which the fortune of Mahummud Shaw prevailed. Koottub al Moolk, deſerted by all but a few perſonal attendants, diſmounted from his elephant and fought bravely on foot; when he was taken priſoner with his brother Nudjum ad Dien, and carried to the emperor. The victory was now complete, and the baggage of the vanquiſhed fell into the hands of the conquerors. Sultan Ibrahim, who had fled from the field, was taken, and remanded to confinement. The news of the victory reached Dhely in the evening of the fourteenth, and occaſioned joy or grief, according to the hopes and fears of different intereſts. The wellwiſhers of the emperor rejoiced, and thoſe of Koottub al Moolk were overwhelmed with ſorrow. Of the latter, ſeveral eſcaped with their effects, and others were thrown into priſon by the cutwal of the city. His women, covering their afflictions with the veil of patience, would not ſet their feet without the citadel of modeſty; but Abdoolla

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[*] Commander of artillery.

Khan Kauſee, who had been left to protect them, extended the hand of rapine upon their effects, and fled with a great booty to his own country, rendering his name odious and accurſed to poſterity. Gholaum Ali Khan, nephew to Koottub al Moolk, and his adopted ſon, Nujjabut Ali Khan, put on diſguiſes, hoping to eſcape, but they were ſtopped, and taken priſoners on the road.

Mahummud Shaw, after this deciſive and important victory, rewarded the ſervices of his nobility and army according to their merits, and prepared to march to Dhely. On the nineteenth he encamped near the tomb of the holy [a] Nizam ad Dien, where he paid his devotions, and conferred his bounties on the attendants and pilgrims. Here he waited two days for the fortunate inſtant to make his entry into the capital. Hyder Koolli Khan was promoted to the rank of ſeven thouſand, and entruſted with the care of Koottub al Moolk. Saaudut Khan was honoured with the [b] mach maurattib, and title of Bahadur Jung. On the twenty ſecond the emperor entered the city in great pomp, upon an elephant moſt ſumptuouſly capariſoned, and attended by ſeveral others in houſings of embroidery and cloth of gold. Several travelling thrones and other carriages, richly ornamented with precious ſtones, gold, and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the houſehold and thoſe of the nobility were all newly clothed, and encreaſed the ſplendour of the cavalcade. Numbers of beautiful horſes, in furniture ſet with jewels and enamelled, were led in the proceſſion, which was ſplendid beyond all deſcription. Money was ſcattered in profuſion to the populace, whoſe acclamations at the reſtoration of the imperial authority reached the heavens. The emperor arrived in the palace about eight o'clock, where his mother, Koodſia Begum, and the other princeſſes firſt made their offerings, waving round his head golden baſons filled with jewels, and gold and ſilver coins, which were afterwards diſtributed to the poor. After this ceremony, the nobility and people were permitted to preſent the nuzzers and gifts of congratulation. The empire now once more enjoyed perfect peace, and the faireſt proſpect appeared of a long and glorious reign to Mahummud Shaw.

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[a] A celebrated ſaint.

[b] Certain inſignia, the principal of which is a fiſh.

On the laſt day of the month, Abd al Summud Khan came to pay his reſpects at court from his government of Lahore, and was received with great favour; alſo Maharaja Jey Sing, and Raja Gheerdhir, ſoubahdar of Oude; at the interceſſion of the former of whom the religious capitation tax was again repealed, much to the ſatisfaction of the Hindoos. An addreſs of congratulation, accompanied by an offering, arrived from Nizam al Moolk, who was confirmed in the government of Dekkan. A petition, with a large ſum of money, was received from Moorſhud Koolli Khan, navob of Bengal, who was continued in that ſoubahdary. Zakariah Khan was appointed governor of Kaſhmeer. On the twenty ſecond of Rubbi al Awul, the emperor marched from Dhely on a hunting excurſion, on which he received intelligence of the dangerous illneſs of Eatimaud ad Dowlah. This nobleman died on the twenty ninth, after having enjoyed the office of vizier only twenty two days; nor was he regretted by the people, to whom he was oppreſſive. Intending to enlarge his palace, he had diſpoſſeſſed ſeven hundred families in his neighbourhood of their habitations; which, however, were reſtored upon his deceaſe by his ſon Kummir ad Dien Khan. The immenſe wealth Eatimaud ad Dowlah had acquired, from the confiſcations and plunder of the ſyeds and their dependants, was given up by the emperor to his heirs. This contradicts the imputation of avarice, too generally laid againſt Mahummud Shaw; for at this period the royal treaſury was very low, the late miniſters having ſpoiled it of vaſt ſums, and even coined into money the golden and ſilver rails of the hall of audience. It was the general uſage of the princes of the houſe of Timur, to ſeize the effects of their deceaſed courtiers; and they conſidered it as generous to leave a ſmall part to the heirs. In the caſe of Eatimaud ad Dowlah, whoſe wealth had in fact been plundered from the palace by the ſyeds, the emperor had a right to reſume poſſeſſion; but, in general, the privilege of confiſcation is tyrannical, and diſgraceful to the royal family; a cuſtom, which no judgment or law can vindicate. How unjuſt, that a perſon who had ſpent his whole life, and perhaps ſacrificed it, in the ſervice of his king, ſhould, on his death-bed, ſee his wives and children employed in diſperſing and concealing his property, inſtead of comforting and alleviating his cares by ſympathy and ſorrow!

The death of Eatimaud ad Dowlah was attributed, by the common people, to the effect of divine judgment, for his conduct to a celebrated devotee. This man, named Nummood, pretended a miſſion from heaven to correct the abuſes which had crept into the muſſulmaun religion; and his ſucceſs in making votaries was ſo great, that the miniſters were apprehenſive of a dangerous inſurrection. Eatimaud ad Dowlah, during his illneſs, ſent guards to ſeize his perſon; but the impoſtor had collected his diſciples, and reſolved to defend himſelf; at the ſame time denouncing the vengeance of God againſt the vizier. The guards, either alarmed by ſuperſtition, or the numbers of his followers, returned without attempting to arreſt him; and Eatimaud ad Dowlah being juſt then ſeized with the agonies of death, his women, overcome with dread, were weak enough to ſend a meſſenger, with a large ſum of money, to appeaſe the wrath of Nummood, and to requeſt his prayers for the recovery of their lord. The impoſtor, on receiving the account of his ſituation, cried aloud to his companions that he had ſtruck an arrow into the heart of an infidel, who would not recover: and Eatimaud ad Dowlah dying, the belief of Nummood's mood's apoſtleſhip was confirmed among the vulgar more than ever. He continued in high reputation during his life, but upon his death, his ſons quarrelling with a confidential ſervant, he diſcloſed the ſcheme of the impoſture, and the hereſy in great meaſure ceaſed.

On the twenty ſecond of Rubbi al Saunee, Einaiut Oollah Khan was appointed to exerciſe the functions of vizier, but without the title; the emperor wiſhing to confer the poſt upon Nizam al Moolk, who was detained in Dekkan by ſome commotions in that country.

The inhabitants of Ajmere and Guzarat having ſent complaints to court of the oppreſſive conduct of the deputies of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, their governor, the emperor removed him from his employments, and appointed Hyder Koolli Khan to the former, and Muzzuffir Ali Khan to the latter province. Ajeet Sing, upon intelligence of his removal, roſe in rebellion, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Ajmere. Here, having aſſembled the chief officers of the province, he produced before them the imperial firmaun, under the ſignature of Mahummud Shaw, conſtituting him ſoubahdar of Guzarat and Ajmere during life, which had been imprudently given him by the emperor's mother, on his acceſſion to the throne, in order to enſure his fidelity, ſhould the ſyeds have meditated the depoſal of Mahummud Shaw. He diſpatched a copy of this, with a petition, to the preſence, repreſenting his removal as a breach of the royal promiſe, and a diſgrace, to reſiſt which he would hazard his life; but that if his majeſty would leave him Ajmere, he would willingly reſign Guzarat, and return to his duty. Upon receipt of the petition, a council was held, and Sumſam ad Dowlah, ameer al amra, conſidering the diſordered ſtate of the imperial finances, adviſed that Ajeet Sing ſhould be indulged with the province of Guzarat, and Ajmere be entruſted to a muſſulmaun nobleman, as it was nearer the capital, and a place of great veneration to the faithful. The emperor and Hyder

Koolli Khan were for puniſhing the rebel, and Saaudut Khan was ſummoned from Agra to command an army againſt him. On his arrival, preparations were ſet on foot, but owing to the diſagreements of the nobles at court, who were unwilling to be under his command, and the indolence of the emperor, they went on but ſlowly. In the mean time, intelligence arrived that Muzzuffir Ali Khan, ſoubahdar of Ajmere, who, unable to proceed to the province with his ſmall force, had halted till he ſhould be joined by Saaudut Khan, had been plundered by his troops, long in arrear, was obliged to fly, and had returned the commiſſion of his government to the preſence. Accounts were alſo received that two of Ajeet Sing's ſons had plundered ſeveral of the royal towns, and that the rich city of [1] Narnoul had been ravaged by their zemindars.

Sumſam ad Dowlah now reſolved to take upon himſelf the correction of Ajeet Sing, and ſent his advanced tents to be pitched without the city, and Hyder Koolli Khan ſwore to aſſiſt him with all his force; but his ardour ſoon cooled, on reflection that abſence from court might prove hurtful to his intereſt with the emperor. He adviſed Mahummud Shaw to offer terms to Ajeet Sing, obſerving, that in the preſent ſtate of the army victory was doubtful, and even ſhould the rebel be defeated, he would retire to the mountains, and prolong the war, which would be inſupportable from the lowneſs of the royal treaſury. The emperor, diſpleaſed at this advice, offered the command to Kummir ad Dien Khan, who would not accept it, but upon condition of Koottub al Moolk's being releaſed and detached with him, which was not complied with. Sumſam ad Dowlah, diſguſted at the neglect of his counſel, ſtaid from court; upon which Mahummud Shaw made ſome conceſſions, and put himſelf under his guidance. He pacified Ajeet Sing by promiſes and indulgence. The regulation of affairs was deferred till the arrival of Nizam al Moolk, whom the emperor had invited to court to take upon him the office of vizier. Intelligence was received of an inſurrection of Afghauns in * Peſhawir, who after an obſtinate engagement had defeated and taken priſoner Khanehzaud Khan, the ſon of Sirbullund Khan, governor of the province.

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[1] Only one hundred miles from Dhely.

In the beginning of this year the emperor was married to A. H. 1135.
Mallakkeh Zummauneh, daughter of Ferokhſere, and the nuptials A. D. 1722.
were celebrated with great ſplendour and rejoicings.

Nizam al Moolk, having ſettled the affairs of government in A. H. 1134.
Dekkan, obeyed the emperor's ſummons to court, and was in- A. D. 1722.
veſted with the robes of the vizarut. He earneſtly adviſed the emperor to dedicate his time to the adminiſtration of public affairs; but Mahummud Shaw was too much addicted to pleaſure to hearken to it. Sumſam ad Dowlah, Kummir ad Dien Khan, and other noblemen, favourites of the emperor, and jealous of the influence of the new vizier, made it their buſineſs to divert the royal mind by diſſipated amuſements; till at length Nizam al Moolk, diſguſted at the manners of the court, reſigned the exerciſe of his office, under pretence of puniſhing Hyder Koolli Khan, who had rebelled in Guzarat, and obtained leave to march from Dhely.
He left the capital after a few months ſtay, much to the ſatisfac- A. H. 1136.
tion of Mahummud Shaw and his favourites, who regarded not A. D. 1723.
the decline of the empire, while they were left to the enjoyments of luxury and indolence in the capital.

This year, the ſoubahdary of Agra was conferred upon Maharaja Jey Sing, who had now the ſatisfaction of reducing the fortreſs of Toone, againſt which he had ſpent ſo much time and money in the reign of Ferokhſere. Raja Gheerdhir was appointed governor of Malwa, and ſucceeded in the ſoubahdary of Oude by

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* Dependant on the province of Cabul.

Saadut Khan, now honoured with the title of [*] Boorahan al Moolk.

Nizam al Moolk having entered Guzarat, Hyder Koolli Khan finding himſelf unable to oppoſe him, pretended madneſs, and retreated with his followers to Dhely, where he remained ſome time in diſgrace; but having requeſted to be ſent againſt Raja Ajeet Sing, who ſtill reſiſted the royal authority, he was taken into favour, and appointed to the government of Ajmere, where he behaved with great gallantry, and diſperſed the rebels. Nizam al Moolk, after ſettling the affairs of Guzarat, left his uncle Hamid Khan as deputy in that province, and proceeding through Malwa, which government had been conferred upon him in room of Maharaja Jey Sing, to eſtabliſh his authority in that country, returned to Dhely, but did not remain long. Finding the emperor immerſed in pleaſure, and ſurrounded by worthleſs favourites, negligent of affairs, and incapable of a grateful return to his important ſervices, he reſolved to repair to his government of Dekkan, where he could be independant. A. H. 1137. A. D. 1724. He accordingly left the capital after a ſhort ſtay, under pretence of a hunting excurſion, and haſtened to his province. The emperor, alarmed at his ſudden departure, diſpatched a firmaun privately to Mubariz Khan, ſoubahdar of Hyderabad, commanding him to attack Nizam al Moolk, and promiſing him the government of Dekkan if he ſucceeded. Mubariz Khan obeyed, was defeated, and ſlain. Nizam al Moolk, after the victory, ſent his head to court, with part of his ſpoils, and a petition congratulating his majeſty on the defeat of a rebel. From this period the imperial authority was only nominal in Dekkan, Nizam al Moolk being in fact the ſovereign, though oſtenſibly the viceroy of Mahummud Shaw, who received no tribute but the offerings cuſtomary at feſtivals and other particular occaſions. The emperor removed him from the governments of

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[*] Guide of the ſtate.

Malwa and Guzarat, appointing Raja Gheerdhir again to the former, and Sirbullund Khan to the latter province.

Nizam al Moolk, in order to divert the attention of the royal arms from chaſtizing his rebellion, perſuaded his uncle Hamid Khan, and the Mharatta chiefs Peelajee and Coantoojee, to raiſe commotions in Guzarat. Hamid Khan accordingly diſplaced the imperial officers and the managers of jaghires in the province. This freſh revolt occaſioned much confuſion at Dhely, and Mahummud Shaw was ſo enraged at the diſſentions among his miniſters, none of whom would accept the command of an army againſt the rebels, that he reſolved to releaſe Koottub al Moolk, and reſtore him to the vizarut; but was prevented from doing this by the ſudden death of that nobleman, ſaid to have been from poiſon, given by the contrivance of the perſons jealous of the royal favour towards him. Upon this event, the emperor offered the province of Guzarat to Sirbullund Khan, who accepting it was ſupplied with a [a] corore of rupees from the royal treaſury to raiſe troops; and at his requeſt Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, brother to Koottub al Moolk, was releaſed from his confinement and detached with him.

Sirbullund Khan for a time reſtored the royal authority in Guzarat; but though the Mharattas were unable to cope with him in a general engagement, they annually laid waſte the country, which, from their depredations, did not afford ſufficient revenue to pay the royal army; and Sirbullund Khan, not receiving ſupplies from the capital, was in the end obliged to diſband part of his troops, and conſent to pay a choute, or fourth part of the revenues, to the Mharattas, as the price of peace. From this period the throne of Dhely received no advantage from Guzarat, which by degrees fell wholly under the power of the Mharattas. The ameer al amra Sumſam ad Dowlah procured the removal of

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[a] A million ſterling.

Sirbullund Khan from his government, under pretence of having diſgraced the emperor by ſubmitting to the choute, and Abee Sing, the ſon of Raja Ajeet Sing, was appointed to ſucceed him; but, inſtead of oppoſing, he entered into cloſer union with the Mharattas. Sirbullund Khan, who made ſome oppoſition to his ſucceſſor, was prevented from coming to court, and ordered to retire to Agra.

When Nizam al Moolk ſaw the depraved policy of the court, the weakneſs of miniſters, and their ill treatment of Sirbullund Khan, his wiſhes to excite the Mharattas to ſubdue the provinces of Hindooſtan encreaſed. He perſuaded Bajeeraow, the general of Raja Sahoo, to attempt the reduction of Malwa and Guzarat. Accordingly, Bajeeraow and other chiefs, with a numerous army, having marched againſt Raja Gheerdhir and the deputies of Raja Abee Sing Rhatoree, attacked both ſoubahs, laying waſte many diſtricts. Raja Gheerdhir was not deſtitute of courage. He oppoſed Bajeeraow, but, on account of the ſmallneſs of his force, applied for aids to the court; however, notwithſtanding frequent petitions to the emperor and the ameer al amra, they had no effect; and he dying during the invaſion, was ſucceeded by Dia Bahadur, his relation, who continued gallantly to reſiſt the enemy. He wrote to court, that while he lived he would prevent the Mharattas from purſuing their conqueſts, but that if he fell, their attacks would penetrate the whole empire. Theſe repreſentations had no effect; A. H. 1143. A. D. 1730. and at length, Dia Bahadur fell in battle, when Mahummud Khan Bunguſh was appointed ſoubahdar of Malwa; but from the repeated incurſions of the Mharattas, he had little power, and in the A. D. 1732. year 1145 was ſuperſeded by Raja Jey Sing Sewai. From a ſimilarity of religion he ſupported Bajeeraow, who, at his interceſſion with the ameer al amra, was appointed ſoubahdar of Malwa, and that province became in fact under the dominion of the Mharattas. Guzarat fell to them alſo from the neglect of Abee Sing, and much devaſtation occurred in thoſe countries, to the great loſs of the empire. The correction of ſuch diſorder could only proceed from the hands of the valiant and the wiſe; what then could be done by the baſe and diſhonourable? The ſubtle fox cannot overcome the lion, nor is a wooden ſword of ſervice in the field of battle. Sumſam ad Dowlah had laid the defence of the empire and chaſtiſement of rebels on the foundation of cunning and deceit, hoping by intrigue to ſubdue ſuch ſtrong enemies as Nizam al Moolk and Bajeeraow. As ſuch ſchemes were ill-founded, like fireworks upon water, they were of no effect, and every plan he formed, became a cauſe of decline to the empire. The miniſters growing neglectful, the power of the rebellious gained ſtrength. The plain of contention was more extended, and the ſources of ruin and diſorder more open. At ſuch a time, an emperor was wanting of reſolution and firmneſs, who might have plucked out the weeds of rebellion with manly oppoſition by the roots, and generals, like Houſſein Ali Khan and Zoolfeccar Jung, who would have thrown the cord upon the necks of the obſtinate with the hand of valour.

When the Mharattas had reduced Malwa and Guzarat, without oppoſition from the court, they aſpired to further conqueſts in the imperial territories; and, making daily encroachments, by degrees ſeized upon ſeveral diſtricts of the ſoubahs of Aleabad and Agra. During theſe invaſions, Mahummud Khan Bunguſh, ſoubahdar of Aleabad, having planned the reduction of the [*]Bonedelas, of whom Raja Chutterſaul was chief, entered that country with an army, and took ſeveral places. Chutterſaul, obſerving the weakneſs of the imperial authority, applied for aſſiſtance to the Mharattas, promiſing them large ſums of money and a ſhare of his territories, as a recompenſe. Mahummud Khan, puffed up by his eaſy conqueſts, had kept only what force he judged neceſſary to ſecure them, and diſmiſſed the remainder; but as he was but little acquainted with the roads, Chutterſaul ſurrounded him ſuddenly with an army. The navob, unable to combat a ſuperior force long in the field, took refuge in the fortreſs of Jeytghur, where he was cloſely blockaded by the enemy. His proviſions were ſoon exhauſted, and his followers reduced to eat their oxen, horſes, aſſes, and even dogs. He aſked aid of the court, but no one attended, till, at laſt, his ſon Caim Jung reſolved to relieve him, and his wife ſent her [*] veil among the Afghauns, to excite them to the deliverance of her huſband. The Afghauns collected, and contenting themſelves with ſuch pay as the begum of the navob could afford them, marched under the command of Caim Jung, and eſcorted Mahummud Khan in ſafety from Jeytghur to Aleabad. The imperial miniſters, making a pretence of Mahummud Khan's ill ſucceſs, removed him from the ſoubahdary of Aleabad, and appointed in his room Sirbullund Khan, who deputed his ſon Khanehzâd Khan to command, himſelf reſiding at court, though he ſeldom viſited the emperor, being diſguſted with ill uſage.

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[*] Inhabitants of Bundelcund, a conſiderable territory in the provinces of Aleabad and Agra.

A. D. 1732. In the year 1145, the emperor being on a hunting excurſion, received intelligence of the Mharattas plundering in the neighbourhood of Agra; upon which he marched towards them, but after a few days, the enemy retreating, he returned to Dhely.

In the following year, the Mharattas having extended their incurſions into the province of Agra, and ſeized ſeveral diſtricts appropriated to the ſupport of the royal houſehold, the ameer al amra prevailed on Mahummud Shaw to ſend an army againſt them, under the command of his brother Muzzuffir Khan. The Mharattas, according to cuſtom, would not engage him in the field, but hovered round, and diſtreſſed him by cutting off proviſions.

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[*] This was to expreſs the diſgrace that would attend the tribe, if the honour of the chief was not ſupported by it.

He marched as far as Seronje in the province of Malwa, where he halted for ſome months; during which the enemy kept him in conſtant alarm, by ſham attacks, and deſtroying his ſupplies. At length the order of return was iſſued, for which he had impatiently waited; and on the twentieth of Mohirrim, 1147, he A.D. 1734. arrived at court, and was honoured with a taſſel of jewels for the turban. Upon his reaching Dhely, the object of his hopes, in ſafety, he offered up oblations and charities to the poor, and his followers gave thankſgivings for the welfare of ſuch an exalted nobleman. His friends uttered loud praiſes of the great conduct ſhewn in the campaign, and ſet forth his return in ſafety as a prodigy. In this year died prince Ali Tibbar, ſon of Azim Shaw.

During this year alſo, the ameer al amra and vizier marched againſt the Mharattas, but returned to court without effecting any thing of importance. The enemy continued their plunders and encroachments every where, with great cruelties.

Arraroo, a zemindar of Korah, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the empire, had put to death his governor Jaun Niſſar Khan, brother to the vizier's wife, and ſeized his family and treaſures; upon which Azim Oollah Khan was ſent to chaſtiſe him, but the zemindar took refuge in his woods, and eluded his purſuer, who, tired out, returned to Dhely, leaving his army under the command of Khowauzim Beg Khan. Arraroo, emboldened by the navob's retreat, attacked and ſlew the deputy; upon which the vizier applied for aſſiſtance to Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, ſoubahdar of Oude, for the reduction of the rebel. Boorahan al Moolk poſſeſſed great generoſity and valour, and in the year 1148 A.D. 1735. marched againſt Arraroo in his way to Dhely. Arraroo on his approach reſolved to oppoſe him; and having one day intelligence from ſpies that Boorahan al Moolk had juſt alighted at his tent, and that he had on a green veſt, and was alſo eaſily known from the whiteneſs and length of his beard, the rebel ruſhed ſuddenly from ambuſh with his followers. Boorahan al Moolk remounted his elephant, and drew up his army as well as the ſuddenneſs of attack would allow. He had however changed his dreſs, and wore a white veſt; ſo that Arraroo miſtaking for him Aboo Terraub Khan, a principal chief, who was habited in green, and had a long white beard, levelled his attack at him, and charging cloſe to his elephant with ſome reſolute followers, wounded him mortally with a ſpear. This occaſioned much diſorder; but Boorahan al Moolk bravely attacked the rebel in turn, who was pointed out to him by Doorjun Sing, a relation of his own, in the navob's ſervice. Doorjun Sing alſo engaged Arraroo perſonally, and after a ſharp conflict put him to death, upon which the rebels fled in diſorder. Boorahan, having offered up thanks to God for his victory, returned to his tents, and ſent Arraroo's head to the emperor. The ſkin of the body was flayed off, and ſent ſtuffed with ſtraw to the vizier. Having remained ſome days to regulate the affairs of the province of Korah, he left the command to his ſon in law Suffder Jung, and purſued his route to court, where he was received with great honours.

Soon after this, Eaudgar Khan, a dependant of the ameer al amra, was diſpatched with the ſunnuds of the ſoubahdaries of Guzarat and Malwa to Bajeeraow, hoping to effect his ſubmiſſion to the empire, through the mediation of Raja Jey Sing. This year died navob Rooſhun ad Dowlah Zuffir Khan.

About this time the ſoubahdary of the province of Patna was taken from Fukhir ad Dowlah, and conferred upon Shujah ad Dowlah, the navob of Bengal, in addition to that government, and of the province of Oriſſa.

Shujah ad Dowlah was a native of Boorahanpore, and deſcended from the Turkiſh tribe of Afshar in Khoraſaun. During Aurungzebe's campaigns in Dekkan, he married the daughter of Jaffier Khan, ſoubahdar of Bengal, and accompanied his father in law to that province; but, not agreeing with her in diſpoſition, he reſided moſtly at Cuttac, the capital of Oriſſa, of which he was governor. Shujah ad Dowlah was celebrated for his clemency, juſtice, and all good qualities. Zebe al Niſſa, begum of Shujah ad Dowlah, from duty to her father and reſentment at her huſband's attachment to other women, remained with her ſon Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at the capital of Moorſhudabad, which was founded by her father, Jaffier Khan, and named after his original title of Moorſhud Koollee Khan.

It was during the reſidence of Shujah ad Dowlah at Cuttac, that Aliverdi Khan, afterwards ſo famous as the uſurper of Bengal, entered his ſervice. His mother was diſtantly related to that nobleman. Her huſband Mirza Mahummud was an officer in the ſervice of the prince Azim Shaw, upon whoſe defeat and death, being greatly diſtreſſed, he was perſuaded by his wife to ſeek the protection of her noble relation at Cuttac. Shujah ad Dowlah received him, with his two ſons, Hajee Ahmed and Aliverdi, with kindneſs and favour among his dependants. Aliverdi, by his great qualities and important ſervices, roſe daily in the eſteem of his patron; and Hajee Ahmed was alſo much diſtinguiſhed. By degrees they became the chief managers of all the affairs of Shujah ad Dowlah; who, fond of pleaſure, entruſted the province to their direction; nor was his confidence abuſed by the brothers.

As Jaffier Khan was much diſpleaſed at the conduct of his ſon in law, in his inconſtancy to his wife, when he perceived himſelf advancing towards his end, he wiſhed to be ſucceeded in the government of the provinces by his grandſon Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at that time [*] imperial dewan. For this purpoſe he exerted all his influence at the court of Dhely. Shujah ad Dowlah, learning his intentions, conſulted upon diſappointing his meaſures with the brothers; and by their advice ſent agents to court to bribe the miniſters to his views. He alſo ſecretly diſpatched numbers of his beſt troops, under pretence of diſmiſſing them his ſervice, to Moorſhudabad, to form a party in his favour. The rainy ſeaſon advancing, and marching by land being very difficult, he took care to provide ſufficient boats for his army, that he might move on the inſtant of occaſion.

Accordingly, when advice came that Jaffier Khan could not ſurvive more than a few days, he began his march, leaving Mahummud Nukkee, his ſon by a concubine, in the direction of affairs at Cuttac. When ſomewhat advanced, he received the accounts of the navob's death, and a little farther on his march, the ſunnuds, appointing him ſoubahdar of Bengal from Dhely. He quickly arrived by forced marches at Moorſhudabad, which he entered without oppoſition, and ſeating himſelf on the muſnud, in the chehal ſettoon, or hall of forty pillars, commanded the royal grants to be read, and the officers of ſtate to acknowledge him as navob. His ſon Aila ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, finding it in vain to ſtruggle againſt the emperor's will and his father's power, was among the firſt to congratulate him upon his acceſſion, and contented to remain in the office of dewan. Shujah ad Dowlah, having thus obtained his wiſhes, conducted the affairs of government with the advice of Aliverdi Khan, his brother Hajee Ahmed, Aulum Chund, his own dewan, now appointed roy royan, (who was among the Hindoos, truly worthy of confidence and power) and a few others, particularly Juggutt Seet Futteh Chund, whoſe wealth and credit as a merchant and banker exceeded millions, and

[*] Under the grant of this office the company now hold Bengal, &c.

and was never yet equalled by any. In the adminiſtration of juſtice he acted wholly from himſelf, and truſted to the repreſentations of no one; but to the utmoſt of his abilities examined every caſe, and liſtened patiently to both parties, deciding agreeably to juſtice, without regard to rank or ſtation. In the time of Jaffier Khan, the zemindars and renters had been oppreſſed with ſuch grievances, as are too horrid to relate. Agreeably to the following verſe of the poet Saadi; " Draw not thy precedents from evil inſtitutions, " for men will curſe thee, with thoſe who invented them." Shujah ad Dowlah upon his acceſſion ſummoned them before him, and demanded how they would behave, if he ſhould free them from their troubles. They, who had ſuffered ſeverely from the tyranny of Jaffier Khan, ſwore ſolemnly to be faithful to his perſon, and juſt in their payments, according to the ſettlements of Juggutt Seet. Shujah ad Dowlah then diſtinguiſhed them by khelauts and favours according to their ranks, and diſmiſſed them with joyful hearts to their ſeveral diſtricts. Bengal, which is called the paradiſe of regions, truly merited the appellation during the adminiſtration of Shujah ad Dowlah; and perſons of all ranks, living in eaſe and ſafety, were loud in his praiſes, repoſing under the ſhade of his proſperity. Not long after his acceſſion, the government of the province of Bahar was added to that of Bengal, the deputation of which he entruſted to Aliverdi Khan, for whom, on this occaſion, he procured the rank of five thouſand and title of Mahabut Jung. The favourite acquired new credit in his management of Bahar, the revenues of which had been embezzled and kept back by rebellious zemindars and military commanders; all of whom he either reduced or put to death.

To preſerve the connection of hiſtory, it is proper to return to the affairs of the imperial court, before we enter further on thoſe of Bengal and the navob Mahabut Jung, which ſhall be ſeparately treated of.

A. H. 1149. A. D. 1735. The Mharattas, notwithſtanding the appointment of Bajeeraow to the government of Malwa, and other favours ſhewn them by the emperor, ſtill continuing their invaſions, and advancing their armies nearer to the capital, the ameer al amra, Khan Dowraun, marched at length with a great army to the vicinity of Agra, and the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, with a powerful force towards Ajmere; but inſtead of acting on the offenſive, waſted their time in idle negotiations for peace in ſtanding camps, while the enemy plundered the country around them.

Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, ſoubahdar of Oude, poſſeſſed great courage and ability, and was anxious to acquire fame, by expelling the Mharattas and redeeming the diſgrace of the empire. He marched from his capital, attended by his ſon in law Suffder Jung, to the aſſiſtance of his friend the raja of Buddawer, a diſtrict of the province of Agra, who was cloſely preſſed by the enemy in his principal fortreſs. He could not, however, arrive in time to relieve him. Raow Mulhar, a principal chief, after reducing the raja to his terms, croſſed the Jumna, and waſted the country without mercy from Etawa to Mootee Baug, cloſe to the city of Agra. At length, Boorahan al Moolk coming upon him by forced marches, defeated him with great ſlaughter. Three principal officers were taken priſoners, and Mulhar with great difficulty eſcaped. The fugitives in their panic miſtaking the paſſage of the river Jumna, which they had forded, were drowned in great numbers; many were taken priſoners, and few regained the oppoſite ſhore. Mulhar with a few followers reached the camp of Bajeeraow, near Gualior. Boorahan al Moolk iſſued orders for each of his ſoldiers to prepare four days proviſions, and leave his baggage in the camp, intending to purſue the enemy to their own province, and redeem the honour of Hindooſtan, when he received orders from the ameer al amra to halt till he could join him with his forces, to act with more effect againſt the invaders. He unwillingly obeyed the mandate. This gave time to Bajeeraow to recover the panic of Mulhar's defeat; and he reſolved to march towards Dhely, at that time almoſt empty of troops for its defence. So rapid was his progreſs, that he reached, and burned part of the ſuburbs of the capital, before any intelligence of his movement had gained the city. The emperor and inhabitants were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation and deſpair. They were not relieved till after three days, (during which the Mharattas committed great devaſtations in the ſuburbs) by the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk and the armies of the vizier and ameer al amra. The enemy then retreated into Malwa, but were not purſued; and the miniſters, to the diſgrace and irreparable loſs of the empire, perſuaded Mahummud Shaw to purchaſe an uncertain peace, by conſenting to the choute, or payment of a fourth part of the revenues to the Mharattas. The emperor would have waited for the concurrence of Nizam al Moolk, whom he had ordered to court, but the vizier and ameer al amra, jealous of his interference, concluded the treaty before his arrival. Nizam al Moolk attempted to recover the province of Malwa from the Mharattas; but after marching and defeating Bajeeraow, was obliged to return for the defence of Dhely againſt the Perſian emperor, Nadir Shaw, who was advancing rapidly towards it.

Sumſam ad Dowlah Khan Dowraun, ameer al amra, poſſeſſed unbounded influence over the mind of the emperor, ſo that he directed all affairs as he thought proper, however impolitic or unadviſeable; an inſtance of which has been already diſplayed in the compromiſe with the Mharattas. With the ſame imprudence, he neglected furniſhing the uſual ſupplies of money to the ſoubahdar of Cabul, for keeping up the ſtations in the paſſes and highways on the confines of the empire in that province; to which cauſe may be in great meaſure attributed the invaſion of Nadir Shaw, who would never, in all probability, have attempted his expedition, had he not heard of the defenceleſs ſtate of the frontier. The grand cauſe of the Perſian monarch's diſpleaſure againſt Hindooſtan, was the protection which the rebellious Afghauns had received in the empire, after their defeat by his arms when regent of Perſia, though he had ſent an ambaſſador to Dhely, requeſting Mahummud Shaw that they might not find refuge in his dominions. Nadir Shaw, on his acceſſion to the throne of Perſia, ſent alſo an ambaſſador from himſelf; but no anſwer was given to his letters, nor the miniſter permitted to return to his maſter. During the ſiege of Candahar, Nadir diſpatched a nobleman of high rank, named Mahummud Khan, to the court of Dhely, to repeat his requeſt concerning the fugitive Afghauns, and to expreſs his diſguſt at the neglect ſhewn his embaſſies by the emperor of the Moguls. Mahummud Shaw and his miniſters were at a loſs what anſwer to return, and delayed the diſmiſſion of the ambaſſador, in hopes that he might fail in the conqueſt of Candahar, and be obliged to retreat into Perſia, when they would avoid the diſgrace of acknowledging a uſurper, as equal in rank with the ſovereign of Hindooſtan. Theſe repeated ſlights, and the eſcape from his vengeance which the Afghauns found in the provinces of Hindooſtan, determined Nadir Shaw, upon the fall of Candahar, to invade the empire. Accordingly, after that event, he marched to Cabul, the capital of the province of that name, which he took with little oppoſition, and remained in the vicinity near ſeven months; during which time his troops were employed in deſtroying the unfortunate Afghauns. It is probable he would not have advanced farther, had not a meſſenger and ſeveral horſemen, whom he had ſent from Cabul to Dhely, been murdered on their route by the inhabitants of Jellalabad. Upon intelligence of this, he inſtantly marched againſt that city, ſlaughtered the people without mercy, and purſued his route to Peſhawir, where Naſir Khan, the ſoubahdar of Cabul, reſided, to whom he ſent a meſſage, ſignifying that he ſhould arrive on a certain day, when, if not oppoſed, he would ſpare the country, and receive him into favour. Naſir Khan, however, prepared for reſiſtance, was defeated, and taken priſoner; but, after a few days' impriſonment, was reinſtated in his government on the part of the Perſian monarch. From Peſhawir, Nadir Shaw proceeded to Lahore, the ſoubahdar of which, Zekariah Khan, after ſome little oppoſition in the field, took refuge in the capital, which he ſhortly after ſurrendered, and was inveſted with the command of it by the conqueror; who, leaving ſome of his troops with him to enſure his fidelity, marched towards Dhely.

Mahummud Shaw and his miniſters had long pretended to deſpiſe the arms of the victorious Nadir, and to diſbelieve the daily accounts received of his advance. He had indeed taken the field, but in the ſpace of two months marched only four days' journey from Dhely to the plain of Karnal; and here the fate of the empire was decided. The imperial army encamped on the banks of the canal of Alimerdan Khan, which ſupplied the city of Dhely with water. Entrenchments were thrown up, and a numerous artillery linked together with maſſy chains, was planted round the camp. Nadir Shaw, after the taking of Lahore, ſent frequent meſſages to the Mogul camp, deſiring the diſmiſſion of his ambaſſadors, but was not obeyed; for what reaſon was never known. The ameer al amra placed great hopes in the valour of the Raajepootes; but neither Jey Sing, nor any of the great rajas, obeyed the ſummons to the royal ſtandard on this occaſion, ſending idle excuſes for their delay in their ſeveral diſtricts. Great dread and confuſion prevailed in the camp; and ſo bad was the intelligence of the approach of the invaders, that it was not known how far Nadir had advanced, till ſome wounded fugitives, from a foraging party, proclaimed to the affrighted Moguls the certainty of the Perſians being within a few miles of their entrenchments. A general apprehenſion and alarm took place, and the emperor waited with the utmoſt anxiety for the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk Saadut Khan, the ſoubahdar of Oude, upon whoſe conduct and valour he had placed all his hopes of delivery, in the preſent important criſis of his empire. The wiſhed for intelligence of his near approach at length arrived. On Tueſday the fifteenth of Zeekaud the ameer al amra went to meet Boorahan al Moolk, about a mile from the camp; and having brought him into the imperial preſence, he was received with the higheſt diſtinction, and commanded to encamp near the diviſion of the ameer al amra. H. 1151. D. 1739.

Boorahan al Moolk had juſt left the emperor, and repaired to his ground, when word was brought him that the Perſians had attacked his baggage, and were committing great ſlaughter; upon which he immediately remounted his elephant, and ſending intelligence of this event to the ameer al amra, with a requeſt of his aſſiſtance, haſtened againſt the enemy. The ameer al amra communicated the meſſage to the emperor, who conſulted Nizam al Moolk. He recommended that Boorahan al Moolk ſhould be recalled within the entrenchments, as the day was far advanced, and his troops were fatigued with a long march, ſo that it would be moſt prudent to delay offering battle to the enemy till the morrow. Mahummud Shaw, approving this advice, communicated it to the ameer al amra; but he, attributing it to the neglect and indolence of the nizam, repreſented to the emperor, that as Boorahan al Moolk had advanced far from the lines, and was moſt probably already engaged with the enemy, not to aſſiſt him, and voluntarily to give up ſuch a deſerving nobleman to ſlaughter, would be againſt the dictates of policy, valour, and generoſity; therefore, permitting others to act as they choſe, he ſhould haſten to ſupport him. Having ſaid this, he advanced from his camp with his light artillery, and ſuch troops as were inclined to follow him. About a fourth part of the day remained, when he came within a ſhort diſtance of Boorahan al Moolk. Nadir Shaw had formed his army in two diviſions; one of which he left for the protection of his camp, and with the other advanced to the attack; ſubdividing it into three bodies. Two of theſe he detached to attack each of the ameers, and remained himſelf with the third, as a reſerved line, to give aſſiſtance wherever it might be neceſſary. The Perſians advanced with great fury, and in about half an hour the troops of Hindooſtan were thrown into confuſion with great ſlaughter. The ameer al amra was dangerouſly wounded, and moſt of his principal followers ſlain. His remaining attendants brought him back, almoſt dead with loſs of blood, to the camp about nightfall; where, from a want of regularity and order, common in Hindooſtan, his tents, baggage, and treaſures had been wholly plundered by the ſoldiery and followers, on the ſuppoſition of his death; ſo that not a covering remained for his reception. At length his attendants procured a ſmall tent, which they pitched for him. The vizier, nizam, and chief eunuchs of the emperor, came to condole with him on his ſituation, and learn the circumſtances of his defeat. The dying miniſter, with a faint voice, ſaid, "I have " done my duty, and finiſhed my courſe. The future muſt be " attended to by you: but I earneſtly adviſe, that the emperor " may not viſit Nadir Shaw, or let him enter Dhely; and that " you turn back, by any means, this great calamity from this " ſpot." Having ſaid this, he became ſpeechleſs, and continued ſo till he breathed his laſt, on the third day following.

Boorahan al Moolk, who had remained on the field of battle, being deprived of moſt of his troops by death, or flight, was at laſt quite ſurrounded by the Perſians, and incapable of further reſiſtance, when he was known by a young ſoldier, a native of the ſame city with himſelf, who calling to him by name, conjured him to ſave his own life by becoming his priſoner; at the ſame time running up to his elephant, and aſcending the ſeat by the ropes of the ladder. Boorahan al Moolk gladly ſubmitted himſelf to the mercy of the enemy, who carried him before Nadir Shaw, and he was treated with great kindneſs and diſtinction.

For the three following days the Mogul camp preſented a ſcene of confuſion not to be deſcribed; but, what is extraordinary, it was not attacked by the Perſians. Boorahan al Moolk, hearing reports of the death of the ameer al amra, and hoping to ſucceed him in office, had prevailed on Nadir Shaw to offer peace, and retreat from Hindooſtan, on the payment of [*] two corores of rupees, and receiving a viſit from the emperor. He accordingly communicated theſe conditions to the emperor and Nizam al Moolk, who were rejoiced beyond meaſure, being before overwhelmed with dread and irreſolution. Mahummud Shaw ſent the nizam without delay to the Perſian camp, where he was received with great favour by Nadir Shaw, who ratified the treaty; and he returned exulting to his maſter. The happy tidings of peace ſpread through the camp, and gave new life to the diſheartened troops; but their joy was but of ſhort duration. Nizam al Moolk, ambitious of the dignity of ameer al amra, requeſted it in return for his ſervices in the negotiation, and the emperor immediately conferred it upon him, unmindful of the offence it would give to Boorahan al Moolk. The next day Mahummud Shaw went to viſit the Perſian monarch, agreeably to his requeſt, and was met near the camp by Nadir's ſon, Nuſſer Oollah Mirza, who alighted from his horſe upon ſeeing him; when the emperor was ſet down in his travelling throne, and they embraced each other. The prince then remounted, and conducted him to his father; who received Mahummud Shaw ſtanding at the entrance of his tent, embraced him with kindneſs, and leading him to his muſnud, ſeated him by him. After ſome converſation, and the uſual ceremonies of preſents and entertainments, Mahummud Shaw returned to his own camp, where his preſence gave heartfelt joy and aſſurances that peace was fully concluded. Such indeed was the opinion of the emperor and all his ſubjects; and juſt would it have been, but for the ſelfiſh diſloyalty of a diſguſted miniſter.

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[*] Two millions ſterling.

Boorahan al Moolk, learning that the office of ameer al amra had been given to another, burned with envy and diſappointment. In the fury of his paſſions he reſolved to be revenged upon the emperor and his rival. He obſerved to Nadir Shaw, that two corores of rupees were too ſmall a compoſition for the wealth of Hindooſtan; that he, as an individual, could pay ſo much; and that the removal of Nizam al Moolk, who alone had any ability to reſiſt his arms, would make the Perſian monarch maſter of the empire without a blow, when he might march to Dhely, only eighty miles diſtant, and poſſeſs himſelf of the immenſe treaſures of the imperial palace and the wealthy inhabitants of the capital. The avarice of Nadir was awakened by this treacherous remonſtrance, and he again invited Nizam al Moolk to his preſence; who, relying upon the faith of treaties, haſtened without ſuſpicion to his camp, where he was commanded to remain, and to prevail upon Mahummud Shaw by letter to make him another viſit. The nizam now repreſented to Nadir, that his behaviour was contrary to treaty; to which the Perſian replied, that he did not mean to depart from his agreement or injure the perſon or empire of Mahummud Shaw, but muſt have another interview. The nizam wrote information of this to his maſter; who, not knowing where to look for ſupport in the abſence of his miniſter, came to the camp of Nadir Shaw, attended only by a few of his favourite domeſtics, forbidding many of the nobility, who were anxious to guard his perſon, to follow him. Upon his arrival he was ordered by the Perſian monarch to remain in a tent pitched for his reception, and to ſend for his family, equipage, and the officers of his houſehold; which he did. At the ſame time orders were ſent to the Mogul camp to break up, and the ſoldiers to retire where they choſe without moleſtation; but the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, was ſummoned to the preſence. Boorahan al Moolk, and Thamaſp Khan, a confidential nobleman of Nadir Shaw, were diſpatched in front to Dhely, to receive the keys of that capital and the imperial palaces from the governor; after which the conqueror, with his royal captive, proceeded by eaſy marches to that city. The utmoſt dread and confuſion prevailed in the Mogul army after the departure of Mahummud Shaw. Individuals conſulted their own ſafety by flight, but were plundered or killed; many by the Perſian marauders, and others by the huſbandmen of the country, who, in time of trouble in Hindooſtan, generally aſſume the occupation of robbery.

On the eighth of March, Nadir Shaw reached the gardens of Shalemar, and permitted Mahummud Shaw to proceed to his palace in the citadel of Dhely, with his family and domeſticks. On the ninth the conqueror made a triumphant entry into the city with his army, which was encamped on the beach of the Jumna, under the palace; but Nadir Shaw took up his reſidence within it; the grand hall of audience, and ſeveral other apartments, being prepared for his reception. Coins had been ſtruck at the imperial mint for this occaſion, which were diſtributed to the people in the cavalcade, bearing this inſcription in verſe;

"King over the kings of the world
"Is Nadir, king of kings, and lord of periods."

On the tenth died Boorahan al Moolk, of a cancer in his back, with which he had been long afflicted. It was reported, that he poiſoned himſelf, from the pangs of conſcience at his being the adviſer of Nadir's advancing to Dhely; but the rumour was not true.

The ſtricteſt diſcipline had been obſerved by the Perſians, and no perſon ſuffered from the victors the ſlighteſt outrage; when, on the night of the tenth, a fatal tumult aroſe, which involved the inhabitants of Dhely in ruin. It was ſuddenly rumoured, that Nadir Shaw was dead; by ſome, naturally, and by others, that he had been aſſaſſinated by a Calmuck woman in the haram, at the inſtigation of Mahummud Shaw. The Dhellians too eaſily credited what they wiſhed to be true. They flew to arms, and maſſacred every Perſian they met in the city; which, during the night, was a ſcene of confuſion and horror. The nobles of Hindooſtan, inſtead of attempting to quell the madneſs of the people, by proclaiming that Nadir was ſtill alive and ſecure in the palace, which was garriſoned by his troops, remained inactive; and at ſome of their houſes, the Perſians, who reſided in them to protect their properties, were treacherouſly murdered. Nadir Shaw, at the commencement of the tumult, ſent out ſome officers to perſuade the people of their error; but inſtead of being liſtened to, they were ſlaughtered. Seeing it in vain to moderate their fury, and not chuſing to hazard his troops in the darkneſs of night and the cloſe ſtreets of the city, he reſolved to let the ſtorm ſpend itſelf, and wait for morning to take vengeance on its authors. About a thouſand Perſians were ſlain.

Early the next morning, Nadir Shaw iſſued from the palace, attended by his troops, and took poſt at the college of Rooſhun ad Dowlah, ſituated in a principal ſtreet. From hence he diſpatched bands of ſoldiers, commanding them to ſlaughter, without diſtinction of age or ſex, the wretched inhabitants of Dhely, in every avenue where they might find a murdered Perſian. His orders were obeyed with a ſavage readineſs. The carnage laſted from ſun-riſe till mid-day. About eight thouſand Indians, Moguls, and Afghauns, were maſſacred, and their houſes plundered, by the Perſians. To add to the horror of the ſcene, fires broke out in ſeveral parts of the city. At twelve o'clock, Kummir ad Dien Khan prevailed on the conqueror to ſtop the maſſacre, when it ceaſed at once; ſo exact was the diſcipline of Nadir Shaw.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the miſery of Dhely, during this and ſeveral following days, when the ſtreets ſtreamed with human blood, and the bodies of the dead obſtructed the paſſages. Theſe were at length piled together in heaps, without diſtinction of rank or religion, and burned in the rubbiſh of the ruined houſes. Several noblemen were put to death by Nadir Shaw, for being acceſſary to the murder of Perſians during the tumult, and among them a ſon in law of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

On the fourteenth, Niſſar Mahummud Khan was diſpatched to Oude, to demand from Suffder Jung the two corores of rupees, which had been promiſed by Boorahan al Moolk from his province. Nadir Shaw this day began his ſeizure of the imperial effects and treaſure. [a] Three corores and fifty lacs were found in the treaſury. [b] A corore and fifty lacs in plate; [c] fifteen corores in jewels; the celebrated peacock throne, valued at [d] one corore; and ſeveral other thrones of rich though ſmaller value, with the armory, eſtimated at [e] eleven corores, were ſeized for his uſe; alſo five hundred elephants, a great number of horſes, and the ſuperb camp equipage of the emperor.

On the fifteenth, a treaty of peace was drawn up, ſtipulating, that the provinces eaſtward of the Sind ſhould remain to the emperor

[a] Three millions, five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

[b] One million five hundred thouſand pounds.

[c] Fifteen millions ſterling.

[d] One million ſterling.

[e] Eleven millions ſterling.

emperor of Hindooſtan, and thoſe weſt of it be ceded to the crown of Perſia. Thus, Cabul, Tatta, and part of Multaun, were wreſted from the empire. Nuſſer Oollah Mirza, Nadir's ſon, was betrothed to the daughter of Yezdaun Bukſh, ſon of prince Moraud, the ſon of the emperor Shaw Jehaun.

On the ſixteenth, Jogul Kiſhoor, vaqueel of Bengal, was ſeverely beaten with ſticks, for not expediting the collection of the fine impoſed on the city.

On the ſeventeenth, Nadir demanded from the vizier [*] two corores and twelve lacks of rupees; when the latter pleading inability, he commanded his dewan, Mujliſs Ram, to give in an account of the property of his maſter and of his own, threatening him with death if he ſhould be guilty of concealment. Three daughters and ſeven ladies were ſeized from the haram of Muzzuffir Khan, ſon in law to the vizier, and forced into the ſeraglio of Nadir Shaw.

On the eighteenth, a contribution was demanded from the nobles and ſervants of the court, bankers, merchants, and artizans, which was levied with the utmoſt ſeverity. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, Sirbullund Khan, and other noblemen, were ordered to collect two corores and twelve lacks from the citizens, and pay it into the treaſury in ten days, on pain of Nadir's diſpleaſure.

On the nineteenth, the collectors of the fine began their exactions. Many perſons put themſelves to death to avoid puniſhment, their property being over-rated in the aſſeſſment. Among theſe were many officers of rank.

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[*] Two millions and one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

On the twentieth, Nadir Shaw ſent nine Perſian horſes, with ſeventy five trays of gold and ſilver brocade and ſcarlet cloth to Mahummud Shaw, and ordered Saad ad Dien Khan, meer atuſh, to put his own guards as before over the haram and offices of the emperor.

On the twenty firſt, Loottff Ali Khan, topjee baſha, or commander of artillery, by orders of Nadir Shaw, with twelve thouſend men, marched out of the city, eſcorting the invaluable plunder of the capital to the gardens of Shalimar. On the twenty ſecond Nadir Shaw's equipage, among which were all the magnificent tents taken from the palace, was pitched on the banks of the Jumna, before the Lahore gate, and a thouſand Perſians of rank, who had taken up their quarters in the palaces of Khan Dowraun, Saadulla Khan, &c. marched to Shalimar. Centinels were placed at the gates of the city, to prevent the Perſians from carrying away any Hindooſtan women. A type of the laſt day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city, from the cruelties of the collectors of the fine. It was, before, a general maſſacre; but now, the murder of individuals. In every chamber and houſe was heard the cry of affliction. Buſſunt Roy, agent of the penſions, killed his family and himſelf. Khalik Ear Khan ſtabbed himſelf. Many took poiſon. The * venerable Cauzee al Kuzzaat was diſgraced by ſtripes.

In the ſame manner all the ſervants of the crown, the merchants, bankers, and all ſuſpected of having money, were harſhly treated; and many, to avoid torment, courted death by their own hands. Sleep and reſt forſook the city. On the twenty third, additions were made double and treble to the demands from the unfortunate officers of the court, and they were beaten and abuſed without mercy. Fojedaur Khan, governor of the environs of the city,

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* Chief judge.

city, from whom four lacks of rupees were demanded, of which he had paid one, eſcaped from his guards, and arrived at his fort of Ferokhnuggur, twenty five coſs diſtant; where he continued, though Nadir Shaw invited him back by ſolemn promiſes. He pleaded old age and inability. The Jauts, under Buddun Sing, roſe in arms in the vicinity of the city, and attacked the foraging parties of the Perſians.

On the twenty fourth, a fire broke out in the imperial [a] ferſh khaneh, and deſtroyed effects amounting to a corore of rupees. Nadir Shaw now only waited for the payment of the fine, and the arrival of Niſſar Mahummud Khan; after which he reſolved to march immediately, and replace Mahummud Shaw on his throne.

At this time, abounding in diſaſters and calamity, the capital of the empire was become, from her various miſeries and troubles, an emblem of the day of univerſal diſſolution. Firſt, from the general maſſacre, and the plunders and exceſſes of the Perſian army, the conflagration, and other events, the inhabitants of all ranks were ſo alarmed, that like the affrighted animals of the deſart, they ſought refuge in the moſt private and concealed corners from further inſult. Secondly, from the great ſcarcity of grain, [b] two ſeer of coarſe rice were ſold for a [c] rupee, and other neceſſaries in proportion. Thirdly, from a peſtilential diſorder; no morning paſſed that whole crowds in every ſtreet and lane did not die. Fourthly, from the exactions which occaſioned a deliberate maſſacre. Unprincipled and unfeeling wretches, ever ready to uſe occaſion, took the various quarters of the city in farm for the collection of the fine, at the original valuation. In place of ten, they extorted thirty and forty thouſand rupees. The firſt ſum was paid to the treaſury,

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[a] Repoſitory of tents, carpets, canopies, cuſhions, beds, &c.

[b] About four pounds weight.

[c] Two ſhillings and threepence nearly.

treaſury, and the reſt embezzled by theſe infernal wretches. It is probable, four or five corores were thus extorted from the miſerable citizens, who, from the roads being blocked up, had not power to fly from theſe dreadful calamities, nor a hope of aſſiſtance. Danuſhmund Khan, one of the moſt learned men in Perſia, and firſt phyſician to the conqueror, who had been before this, at the requeſt of Boorahan al Moolk, honoured with the rank of three thouſand, and now officiated as ambaſſador between the emperors; was, at the deſire of Nadir Shaw, promoted to the rank of ſeven thouſand and office of *khanſamaun to Mahummud Shaw.

On the thirty firſt, Mahummud Ghazee ad Dien Khan, ſon of Nizam al Moolk, brought Meer Nizam ad Dien, fojedaur of the environs of the city, who had fled to Ferokhnuggur, to an interview with Nadir Shaw, to whom he preſented an offering of a lack and fifty thouſand rupees. He was graciouſly received, reeſtabliſhed in his office, commanded to bring in ſupplies of grain, and invite the people to the deſerted villages. The ſame day, at the requeſt of Nizam al Moolk, orders were given by Nadir Shaw to his chief ſecretary to prepare edicts to the governors of the different provinces and the chiefs of Dekkan, commanding them to obey Mahummud Shaw. Fifteen were accordingly written, and committed to Nizam al Moolk.

On the firſt of April, Raja Mujliſs Ram, dewan to the vizier, having paid four lacks of rupees, ſtabbed himſelf to avoid the tortures ordered to be inflicted upon him to extort an additional ſum. Roy Khooſhal Chund and his ſon did the ſame. Seetaram, farmer of ſome royal lands and treaſurer to the vizier, alſo eight or ten principal officers, after having given ten, eight, ſix, and four lacks of rupees, on more being demanded, made their eſcape from the city. Jogul Kiſhoor, Nagir Mul, Saadoolla Khan, and other principal [illegible] vaqueels,

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* Steward of the houſehold.

vaqueels, were beaten almoſt to death to extort money from them. People of all ranks deſerted the city in crowds.

On the third, Nadir Shaw ordered a ſeizure of the effects of many capital merchants, who had not paid the ſums demanded from them; in conſequence of which rich goods were ſold for a fourth and fifth part of their value.

On the fifth, Nadir Shaw's ſeals were taken off the imperial ſtore-rooms and repoſitories, and thoſe of Mahummud Shaw and Danuſhmund Khan affixed in their room. The ſame day firmauns were ſent from Nadir Shaw to Raja Jey Sing, Raja Abee Sing, Juggut Sing, and other rajas of Hindooſtan; alſo to Raja Sahoo, Bajeerao, and other Dekkan chiefs, with theſe contents:

“Between us and our dear brother Mahummud Shaw, in conſideration of the regard and alliances of the two ſovereignties, the connections of regard and friendſhip have been renewed; ſo that we may be eſteemed as one ſoul in two bodies. Now our dear brother has been replaced on the throne of this extenſive empire, and we are moving to the conqueſt of other regions, it is incumbent that ye, like your forefathers in former times, walk in the path of ſubmiſſion and obedience to our dear brother, as they did to former ſovereigns of the houſe of Timur. God forbid it, but if accounts of your rebelling ſhould reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation.”

On the ſeventh of April, Nadir Shaw ſent ſome valuable jewels, a ſirpeach, and bracelets, to Mahummud Shaw, with a meſſage, that his march was fixed for the ſeventeenth of the month, and deſiring, that on the morrow he would viſit him, attended by the nobility with all the inſignia of royalty, that he might give him ſome valuable advice, and take his leave. Accordingly, the next morning, being the eighth of April, Mahummud Shaw, with imperial pomp, attended by the court, on a travelling throne came out at the gate of the lion tower, and proceeded to the grand hall of audience, at the ſteps of which Nadir Shaw received him, and led him to a throne, after which all perſons retired. The two monarchs remained in private for near an hour. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, and other great lords, were then admitted; to whom Nadir Shaw ſpoke nearly an hour, in terms of advice mingled with threats. Viands were then diſtributed, and dreſſes conferred upon them. Nadir Shaw preſented jewels for a turban, with a ſword ſet with jewels, to Mahummud Shaw, who then took leave, and retired to the lion tower in the ſame ſtate as before.

On the eleventh, all the Perſians quitted the city, except the body guards of Nadir Shaw, and encamped near Shalimar. The ſame evening Nuſſer Oollah Mirza took leave of Mahummud Shaw. The ſoubah of Multaun and four mahals of Yemneenabad were, at Nadir Shaw's requeſt, granted to Zekariah Khan, in room of the deceaſed Abd al Summud Khan, in addition to the government of Punjaab.

On the fourteenth, Nadir Shaw began his retreat from Dhely, and proceeded by regular marches to his own empire: but as the events of his route but little concern the hiſtory of Hindooſtan, they are not related in theſe pages. It is wonderful, but true, that the inhabitants of Dhely, at leaſt the debauched, who were by far the more numerous part, regretted the departure of the Perſians; and to this day, the exceſſes of their ſoldiery are topics of humour in the looſer converſation of all ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindooſtan at this time regarded only perſonal ſafety and perſonal gratification. Miſery was diſregarded by thoſe who eſcaped it, and man, centered wholly in himſelf, felt not for his kind. This ſelfiſhneſs, deſtructive of public and private virtue, was univerſal in Hindooſtan at the invaſion of Nadir Shaw; nor have the people become more virtuous ſince, conſequently, not more happy, nor more independant.

Upon the retreat of Nadir Shaw, the emperor made ſome changes among the great officers of ſtate, and advanced two noblemen, who had ſhewn much attachment and fidelity to his perſon during the late troubles, to high rank. One of theſe was Ameer Khan, ſon of the principal favourite of the emperor Aurungzebe, of the ſame name, and the other Izaac Khan, of a middle rank about the court. Mahummud Shaw, jealous of the power of the Tooraun nobles, wiſhed to remove the vizier Kummir ad Dien Khan from office. Ameer Khan was pitched upon to ſucceed him; but the emperor was fearful of executing his reſolution till the return of Nizam al Moolk to Dekkan, as he was nearly related to the vizier, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. This event at length occurred; the nizam being neceſſitated to repair to his government, where his ſon Naſir Jung had begun to aſſume independance. With this deſign, he had taken leave of the emperor, and pitched his encampment near the city, having obtained the deputation of his office of ameer al amra for his ſon Ghazee ad Dien Khan, who was alſo ſon in law to the vizier. Mahummud Shaw now privately beſtowed the inkſtand of the vizarut on Ameer Khan, who imprudently boaſted of the honour he had received. Kummir ad Dien Khan hearing of this, adviſed with the nizam how to act, who recommended him to beg his diſmiſſion from court, and accompany him to Dekkan. He accordingly repaired to the nizam's camp, from whence he diſpatched a petition, obſerving to his majeſty, that as he found a change towards him in the royal behaviour, from the arts of intereſted perſons, though he had been guilty willingly of no crime, he begged permiſſion to retire to Dekkan and reſign his office. Mahummud Shaw, alarmed at the departure of the vizier, (for he poſſeſſed not ſteadineſs of reſolution,) conſulted with Ameer Khan and Izaac Khan what anſwer to return. The former adviſed compliance with the requeſt, aſſuring him, that if he was appointed vizier, he would take ſuch meaſures as ſhould ſecure his majeſty from ſuffering from the reſentment of the diſcarded miniſter. The emperor was ſilent, and diſmiſſed Ameer Khan; after whoſe departure he conjured Izaac Khan by his own head to ſpeak his real ſentiments. Izaac Khan, patronized by Ameer Khan, and joined with him in the late conſultations, was at a loſs; which the emperor obſerving, again entreated him more earneſtly. Upon this he replied, that if he ſhould recommend meaſures contrary to thoſe of Ameer Khan, he ſhould forfeit his word, and if he adviſed the ſame, he ſhould be inimical to his majeſty's welfare; therefore begged to be ſilent; but Mahummud Shaw repeated his requeſts. He then obſerved, that though Ameer Khan was of high rank, and the ſon of a nobleman of ſtill higher, and poſſeſſed courage and much wit, yet from the looſeneſs of his manners, he could not command proper reſpect in the important office of vizier; that his dependants, among whom was himſelf, by his patronage recommended to his majeſty, and raiſed to diſtinctions, were as yet eſteemed only by the great rajas of Hindooſtan as ordinary perſons to whom they would not ſubmit as ſuperiors: that, on the contrary, they regarded with veneration the nizam and vizier, and eſteemed their ſervice honourable to themſelves; therefore, it would not be adviſeable to remove ſuch perſonages, for thoſe like Ameer Khan and himſelf. The emperor, upon this, ſought to conciliate the vizier, and communicated his intentions to Ameer Khan; who immediately haſtened to the nizam, offering conceſſions to him and the vizier. It was agreed, that he ſhould for the preſent, as a proof of his ſincerity in relinquiſhing his deſigns againſt the vizier, retire to his government of Aleabad; which he did immediately. The vizier returned to court, where harmony was again eſtabliſhed, and Izaac Khan became equally the favourite of the miniſter, as of Mahummud Shaw. Boorahan al Moolk was ſucceeded in the government of Oude by his ſon in law Suffder Jung; Zekariah Khan was continued ſoubahdar of Lahore; and Shujah ad Dowlah, navob of Bengal, was ſucceeded by his ſon Allah ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; who being ſhortly after defeated and ſlain by Aliverdi Khan, the governor of Patna, the uſurper ſeized the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and was confirmed in them by the imperial grants, for a large peſhcuſh and a promiſe of remitting the royal revenues to the treaſury. Nizam al Moolk returned to Dekkan, which had fallen into diſorder, from the diſaffection of the provinces during the invaſion of Nadir Shaw, and the precipitate conduct of his ſon Naſir Jung.

Upon the departure of Ameer Khan to Aleabad, Izaac Khan enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of the emperor's confidence; and as he did not aſpire to the more important offices of ſtate, the vizier was not jealous of the favours conferred upon him: but Izaac Khan did not long ſurvive his exaltation. Mahummud Shaw was truly afflicted at his loſs, and continued his affection for the father to his children, but particularly to the eldeſt ſon, Meerza Mahummud, often ſaying, that had he not him to ſupply the place of the deceaſed, he ſhould have died of grief for his loſs.

A. H. 1156.
A.D. 1743.

This year the emperor ſummoned to court Ameer Khan from Aleabad, Suffder Jung, ſoubahdar of Oude, Zekariah Khan, nizam of Lahore and Multaun; alſo the rajas Bukht Sing Rhatoree and Jey Sing. A mandate was likewiſe diſpatched to Nizam al Moolk; but he pleaded in excuſe for his diſobedience, his great age, though in fact he was at the time employed in ſecuring the government of Dekkan to his family. Raja Jey Sing died this year, and three of his wives with many concubines burned themſelves on his funeral pile. Ameer Khan and Suffder Jung, on their arrival at court, were received with the greateſt marks of the royal favour. This year the emperor's only ſon, prince Ahmed, was married to a daughter of the lineal deſcendant of Mahabut Khan, ſo celebrated in the reign of [a] Jehaungeer. The ſoubahdary of Guzarat was conferred on Fukhir ad Dowlah; but, after a feeble attempt to recover it from the Mharattas, he returned to Dhely.

A. H. 1157. A. D. 1744. Suffder Jung was hononoured with the poſt of meer atuſh, or command of the artillery, and the government of Kaſhmeer.

A. H. 1158. A. D. 1745. This year the emperor, at the requeſt of Suffder Jung, marched to reduce [b] Ali Mahummud Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, who had from the negligence of government poſſeſſed himſelf of the diſtricts of [c] Kutteer, and aſſumed independance of the royal authority. He was beſieged in a fortreſs called Bangur, and being taken priſoner, was committed to the care of the vizier; after which the royal army returned to Dhely. Zekariah Khan dying, the ſoubahdary of Lahore was conferred on the vizier, who appointed two ſons of the deceaſed his deputies; but the brothers quarrelling with each other, the eldeſt obtained ſuperiority in the conteſt, and was confirmed in the government of the province, with the title of Shaw-nowauz Khan.

A. H. 1159. A. D. 1746. This year was diſtinguiſhed by no other remarkable events, than the death of Ameer Khan, and the marriage of Shujah ad Dowlah, ſon of Suffder Jung, to the daughter of the late Izaac

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[a] Mahabut Khan ſeized that emperor's perſon, and for ſome time controuled the royal authority; but was obliged to retire by the intrigues of the empreſs Noor Jehaun.

[b] The founder of the Rohilla government, in the end overthrown by Shujah ad Dowlah with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, for having neglected to fulfil the terms of a treaty made with him, when defended by his arms from the invaſions of the Mharattas.

[c] Now called, from the reſidence of the Rohillas, Rohilcund. It is in poſſeſſion of the navob vizier.

Khan, the emperor's favourite. Theſe nuptials were celebrated with uncommon ſplendour. Among the preſents made to the bride, were one thouſand ſilver cups, each weighing [a] one hundred rupees.

Ameer Khan had ſince his laſt arrival at court conducted the whole adminiſtration; the vizier being incapable of attending the durbar, from a hurt occaſioned by a fall from a terrace, and contentedly allowing his rival to exerciſe the influence of his office in his name, while he enjoyed ſecurity and repoſe. Suffder Jung, the only one of the nobility able to oppoſe him, was his friend; ſo that he had no competitor for the royal favour. He was naturally free of ſpeech, and the emperor, fond of his repartee, had allowed him more licenſe in converſation than was conſiſtent with reſpect to his own dignity. As he acquired power in the ſtate, this freedom grew to importunity, when he was on buſineſs with the emperor; which by degrees diſguſted Mahummud Shaw, and made him wiſh his removal from office. The royal jealouſy was alſo excited by Ameer Khan's paying a viſit to the princes of the blood confined in the citadel of Seleemgur. The emperor, however, fearing his power, did not openly ſhew any change towards him. At length, Ameer Khan one day preſſing ſome requeſt, which his majeſty did not chuſe to grant, he deſired him to be ſilent, and he would hear him on the ſubject another day. The miniſter perſiſted, and was three times mildly put off, but ſtill continued his importunity. At length, Roze Afzoon Khan, a eunuch, [b] nazir of the haram, rebuked him in harſh terms for his diſreſpect to his ſovereign; upon which Ameer Khan, highly enraged, exclaimed, "What privilege "has a ſlave to interrupt the converſation of a nobleman?" The eunuch replied, "If I am a ſlave, I am the ſlave of his majeſty "alone, and not of others." The miniſter, inflamed with paſſion, now addreſſed the emperor, ſaying, if the eunuch was not removed, he

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[a] Twelve pounds ſterling.

[b] The nazir has the ſole direction of the ſeraglio.

he would no longer attend the court; and demanded the diſpoſal of his office of nazir to one of his own ſervants. The emperor conſented for the preſent, and the miniſter retired; but Mahummud Shaw, on conſideration, was alarmed for his own ſafety, ſhould Ameer Khan perſiſt in claiming poſſeſſion of the nuzzarut. The eunuch adviſed the aſſaſſination of the miniſter, and undertook to effect it, without delay. The emperor aſſented. A perſon who had been diſcharged from the ſervice of Ameer Khan, was applied to by the eunuch, and agreed to perpetrate the murder. A day or two afterwards the miniſter attended the durbar, to receive the inveſtiture of the nuzzarut, bringing with him Aggah Khan, a favourite eunuch, to be appointed his deputy in its immediate exerciſe. The aſſaſſin was placed in the paſſage leading to the chamber of private audience, and coming behind him juſt as he had reached the door, ſtabbed him with a dagger ſo effectually, that the unfortunate Ameer Khan fell down dead on the inſtant. His corpſe was thrown into a palanquin and carried to his own houſe, where the imperial officers had been already ſent to ſeize his effects; but were reſiſted by the military followers of the deceaſed, under pretence that great arrears of pay were due to them, ſatisfaction for which they demanded, before they would relinquiſh the perſonal eſtate; nor would they ſuffer the body to be buried. After four days, Suffder Jung pledging himſelf for the payment of their demands, if they would give up the corpſe for interment, by this time in a ſtate of putrefaction, they conſented; keeping, however, the neareſt relations of the deceaſed in their hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe. After the funeral, the effects were ſold to ſatisfy the troops, and the emperor obtained poſſeſſion of the jewels and armoury for a [a] lack of rupees, which were worth [b] fifty lacks, if not a greater ſum. The jaghire of the deceaſed was given to the daughter of the emperor, and put under the direction of Nudjum ad Dowlah, ſon to the late Izaac Khan.

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[a] Twelve thouſand pounds.

[b] Five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

A. H. 1161. A. D. 1747. This year was diſtinguiſhed by the invaſion of Ahmed Abdallee, and the death of the emperor Mahummud Shaw. Ahmed was the ſon of a chief of the Afghaun tribe of Abdal, in the vicinity of the city of Heraut, and was taken priſoner in his infancy by Nadir Shaw, who gave him the poſt of a * yeſſawul, and by degrees promoted him to a conſiderable command in his army. Upon the aſſaſſination of that monarch, he had the good fortune to poſſeſs himſelf of a conſiderable treaſure, with which he retired to his native country, and aſſumed the honours of royalty over the Afghauns of his tribe. He then marched againſt the fortreſs of Candahar, which ſubmitted to his arms; and prevailed upon Naſir Khan, the ſoubahdar of Cabul, to acknowledge his authority, permitting him to continue in office on promiſing to pay down five lacks of rupees. Naſir Khan would have performed his agreement, but the chief inhabitants of the province refuſing to contribute the ſum, and perſuading him to reſiſt, he withdrew his allegiance; upon which Ahmed Abdallee marched againſt him. On his approach the people of Cabul deſerted their governor, and Naſir Khan retired to the city of Peſhawir, where he held out for ſome time; but fearful of falling into the hands of Abdal Shaw, as his proviſions were exhauſted, and he had no hopes of a ſupply, he made his eſcape towards Dhely, leaving his family and effects behind him, which, with the fortreſs, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, two days after his departure. During this ſiege, Shawnowauz Khan, ſoubahdar of Lahore, offered to join the fortunes of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, on condition of being appointed his vizier, and his propoſal was accepted; but, at the remonſtrance of his uncle Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier to the emperor Mahummud Shaw, he repented of his treachery; and when Ahmed Abdallee, on the fall of Peſhawir, claimed performance of his engagement, he declined it. The ſhaw, being enraged, marched againſt Lahore, which fell into his hands after a ſhort reſiſtance. Shaw-

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* Mace-bearer.

Shaw-nowauz Khan made his eſcape, with a few attendants, to Dhely. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, and the weakneſs of the empire, Ahmed Shaw reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of the capital of Hindooſtan; and in the beginning of this year began his march from Lahore. Mahummud Shaw, being at this time too much indiſpoſed to take the field, diſpatched his only ſon, prince Ahmed, againſt the enemy, under the conduct of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, Suffder Jung, ſoubahdar of Oude, Eeſuree Sing, raja of Jeypore, and ſeveral other chiefs, with a great army. They advanced to the banks of the Suttulludge without meeting the enemy, who had artfully paſſed them and plundered the rich city of Sirhind, where the heavy baggage of the prince was depoſited. Upon intelligence of this misfortune the prince returned, and upon his arrival near the enemy threw up entrenchments round his camp. The Afghaun ſhaw did the ſame; and for ſome days ſeveral ſkirmiſhes took place between the two armies. At length, Kummir ad Dien Khan, the vizier, being killed as he was at his devotions in his tent by a cannon ball, a panic prevailed in the Mogul army, and Eeeſuree Sing with his Raajepootes fled from the field. Meer Munnoo, the vizier's ſon, and Suffder Jung, however, diſdained to fly, and by their addreſs reſtored order in the camp. The next day, a magazine of rockets taking fire in the enemy's camp, numbers of the troops were wounded by the exploſion; and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, either diſheartened by this loſs, or ſatisfied by the plunder gained at Sirhind, thought proper to retreat towards Cabul, which he did unmoleſted. Mahummud Shaw being near his end, upon intelligence of the enemy's defeat, commanded the prince to return to Dhely, having firſt conferred the government of Lahore on Meer Munnoo, as a reward for his ſervices. Before the royal army reached Dhely the emperor expired, aged forty eight years and ſome months, in the thirty firſt year of his reign. His death was concealed for ſome days, till the arrival of the prince; who on the firſt of Jemmaud al Awul was ſaluted emperor in the garden of

Shalimar, and on Friday, the twelfth of the ſame month, went in royal pomp to the great moſque, where the Khootbah was read, and coins were ſtruck in his name. Mahummud Shaw was buried in the college of Nizam ad Dien, in a ſepulchre he had erected on purpoſe.

Mahummud Shaw was not deſtitute of abilities and judgment, but had an indolence of diſpoſition too blameable in a ſovereign; on which account he was overruled by his miniſters, and governed by his domeſtic ſervants. He was unable to reſtore the empire from the decline it had ſuffered during the reign of Ferokhſere; and being very young at his acceſſion, and addicted to pleaſure, he neglected publick buſineſs, ſo that diſorder encreaſed. After the invaſion of Nadir Shaw he became diſpirited, and gave himſelf up to devotion and the ſociety of religious men. He was averſe from oppreſſion and ſhedding of blood, and the people from him ſuffered no wrong. While he lived, the royal name was reſpectable; and by his prudence he ſuſtained the tottering pillars of the ſtate from falling into total ruin, but could not repair the unwieldy fabric.

Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier, though neglectful of buſineſs, and much addicted to women and wine, yet was ſo merciful and generous, that the inhabitants of Dhely ſtill remember him with gratitude and affection, notwithſtanding his incapacity for his important ſtation.

AHMED SHAW.

AHMED Shaw on his acceſſion offered the vizarut to Nizam al Moolk, who excuſed himſelf from accepting it, on account of his great age, being in his hundred and [illegible] year; nor did he long ſurvive this refuſal, dying about a month afterwards in the vicinity of Boorahanpore, the capital of Khandeſhe. He had governed the Mogul provinces of Dekkan for thirty years as an independant prince, except in name, with great ability and ſucceſs. He left behind him ſix ſons, and was ſucceeded in Dekkan by the ſecond, Meer Ahmed Naſir Jung; the eldeſt, Ghazee ad Deen, reſiding at Dhely, in the office of ameer al amra. Nizam al Moolk is much venerated in Hindooſtan for his wiſdom, policy, generoſity, and learning. An account of his life would form a volume, which may one day be preſented to the public.

Immediately upon the death of the nizam the vizarut was beſtowed on Suffder Jung, who aſſumed the whole adminiſtration of the imperial authority; Ahmed Shaw, contrary to the hopes which had been formed of him, giving himſelf up to pleaſure, and paying no attention to the affairs of government. Suffder Jung's firſt meaſure in office, was to attempt the expulſion of the Rohillas from Kutteer, bordering on his province of Oude. He for this purpoſe inſtigated Kaium Jung, the navob of Ferokhabad, to declare war againſt them, Ali Mahummud their chief being juſt dead, and the country in an unſettled ſtate, owing to the minority of his ſons and the ambitious diſputes of their guardians. Kaium Jung complied with the wiſhes of the vizier, but was defeated and ſlain by the Rohillas.

Diſappointed in the conqueſt of Kutteer, Suffder Jung reſolved to reap advantage from the death of the deluded Kaium Jung. He perſuaded the emperor to march towards Ferokhabad, and confiſcate his eſtates. The widow, children, and mother of the navob, unable to reſiſt, ſubmitted to his authority and gave up their treaſures. The principal ſervants of the deceaſed were ſent priſoners to Aleabad; but his mother was allowed to keep the city of Ferokhabad and twelve ſmall diſtricts, for the ſupport of the family, as they had been conferred on it in perpetuity by the emperor Ferokhſere. The conquered country was committed to the care of the vizier's deputy, Raja Nowil Roy. This year, Ahmed Abdallee advanced A. H. 1162. again as far as Lahore; but being gallantly reſiſted by Meer Mun- A. D. 1749. noo, he thought proper to retreat, on his agreeing to pay him the revenues of four diſtricts in that province.

The vizier was ſcarcely returned to Dhely, when Ahmed Khan, A. H. 1163. a brother of the late Kaium Jung, collected an army of Afghauns, A. D. 1750. and recovered the territories lately ſeized from his family, by defeating Raja Nowil Roy, who was ſlain in the action. The vizier was on his march to aſſiſt his deputy, when he received accounts of his death, and preſſed on to revenge it; but the fortune of Ahmed Khan prevailed. He, in a general action, defeated the vizier, who fled to Dhely, trembling for the ſafety of his province of Oude, now expoſed to the reſentment of the enemy.

Ahmed Khan immediately after his victory marched to Aleabad, which fortreſs he beſieged, and diſpatched his ſon Mhamood Khan to ſeize the city of Lucnow. The vizier ſummoned an army of Mharattas to his aſſiſtance, with which, in two months after his loſs, he moved from Dhely, recovered his own dominions from the enemy, and obliged Ahmed Khan, with his allies the other Rohillas, to take ſhelter in the hills. Upon his ſubmiſſion, Ahmed Khan was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of Ferokhabad and a country producing a revenue of ſixteen lacks of rupees; the reſt of the territories poſſeſſed by the late Kaſum Jung being divided between the vizier and the Mharattas. The other Rohillas purchaſed their pardon by the payment of a large contribution. This year was alſo diſtinguiſhed by an attempt to recover the ſoubahdary of Ajmere from the Raajepootes, who had aſſumed independance; but the imperial general was defeated, and returned in diſgrace to Dhely. The vizier, after his victory, employed himſelf in reſettling his waſted provinces.

A. H. 1164. A. D. 1751. This year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of Naſir Jung, ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor to Nizam al Moolk in Dekkan, by a conſpiracy of his own ſervants, aſſiſted by the French, who ſurprized his camp while he was engaged in quelling a rebellion raiſed by his nephew Muzzuffir Jung, who was taken priſoner; but on the death of his uncle was placed on the muſnud of Dekkan by the conſpirators. This young prince did not long enjoy his dignity, but was aſſaſſinated almoſt immediately after his acceſſion, by the ſame perſons who had raiſed him to power; when Sullabut Jung, third ſon of the old nizam, was placed on the muſnud by the French, and Raja Ragonaut, dewan to Muzzuffir Jung. Mr. Buſſy was created a noble of the empire, and the northern ſirkaurs granted in jaghire to his nation.[*]

A. H. 1165. A. D. 1751-2. This year Ahmed Shaw Abdallee again advanced as far as Lahore, and was oppoſed for four months by Meer Munnoo; who, however, loſing two of his principal generals, and his troops being diſpirited, was obliged to ſubmit. He was received into favour by the conqueror, who appointed him governor of Lahore and Multaun under his authority, and thus were these two valuable provinces torn from their dependance on the deſcendants of Timur. Ahmed Abdallee, during his ſtay at Lahore, ſent an ambaſſador to Dhely, demanding conceſſions from the emperor; who, much alarmed, recalled Suffder Jung to court. The vizier obeyed the ſummons, and repaired to Dhely, with his own army, and his auxiliary Mharattas; but Jaweed Khan, the favourite eunuch, before his arrival had perſuaded the emperor to purchaſe peace by complying with the demands of the Abdallee monarch, who retreated from Lahore to his own dominions. The vizier, offended at this meaſure, declined appearing at court, encamped in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and informed the emperor that he muſt deviſe ſome means of paying the Mharattas, whom he had brought to his aſſiſtance on the promiſe of a large ſum of money. At this period, fortunately for Ahmed Shaw, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, eldeſt ſon of the late nizam, eſteeming the death of his brother Naſir Jung, favourable to his claims to the government of Dekkan, offered to pay the demands of the Mharattas, if the emperor would grant him the ſoubahdary of that country. Ahmed Shaw readily complied, and Ghazee ad Dien Khan prevailed on the Mharatta chiefs to accompany him to Dekkan, by payment of a large ſum of money in hand, and promiſes of greater favours when he ſhould arrive at his government.

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[*] For a detail of theſe events, ſee Mr. Orme's elegant hiſtory.

The vizier, Suffder Jung, upon the departure of the Mharattas, entered Dhely, and attended to his offices at court; but he was much diſguſted at the influence of the eunuch Jaweed Khan over the emperor, and the diſgraceful peace made by the favourite's advice with the Abdallee ſhaw. He reſolved to remove him; and, for this purpoſe, having invited him to an entertainment, had him aſſaſſinated by one of his ſervants. This action enraged the emperor againſt him, and made him reſolve on diſplacing him from his perſon and the vizarut; but ſuch was the power of Suffder Jung, that Ahmed Shaw dared not for the preſent avow his deſigns.

Ghazee ad Dien Khan, with the Mharattas, reached Aurungabad, the capital of Dekkan, unmoleſted, but died ſuddenly, a few nights after his arrival at the city; upon which his followers diſperſed, and his body was brought by his domeſtics to Dhely. He left behind him one ſon, named Shaab ad Dien, a youth of extraordinary abilities. By the intereſt of Suffder Jung, he was appointed to ſucceed his father as ameer al amra, and received the ſame titles of Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadur, in addition to his own. The firſt uſe which the young man made of his power, was to adviſe the emperor to proceed to extremities in his reſentment againſt his patron. Ahmed Shaw, accordingly, removed him from his office of meer atuſh, and expelled his deputy from the palace. Suffder Jung, unwilling to reſiſt his ſovereign, requeſted to be allowed to retire to his government of Oude; and the emperor conſenting, he left Dhely, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from it. His friends, however, repreſenting to him the folly of ſo eaſily reſigning his power, he changed his intention of repairing to Oude, and reſolved to depoſe Ahmed Shaw; for which purpoſe he called the Jauts to his aſſiſtance, and throwing off his allegiance, ſet up a youth as emperor, pretending that he was one of the royal family who had eſcaped from priſon. He beſieged Dhely for ſix months, but was bravely reſiſted by the young ameer al amra. Both parties at length being tired of the war, Suffder Jung, on being allowed to keep the provinces of Oude and Aleabad, gave up the pretended prince, and retired to his government, leaving Ghazee ad Dien Khan in poſſeſſion of what authority yet remained to the imperial name, and his office of vizier was conferred on Intizam ad Dowlah, ſon of the late vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

Upon the retreat of Suffder Jung, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, being joined by an army of Mharattas, which he had invited into his ſervice, marched from Dhely againſt the Jaut raja, Soorauje Mul, who poſſeſſed the province of Agra. The raja, unable to keep the field, retired to his ſtrongeſt fortreſs, which was ſurrounded; but the miniſter having no battering cannon petitioned the emperor to ſend the royal train from Dhely. By this time Ahmed Shaw had been alarmed at the ambitious proceedings of the young ameer al omra, who had behaved towards him with great haughtineſs, and ſhewn little reſpect to the royal authority, which made him apprehenſive of his own ſafety, ſhould he acquire the rich conqueſt of the Jaut territories. Soorauje Mul had alſo written privately to court, that if the emperor would march to *Secundra, he would join him with his troops, and free him from the impending dangers of the treachery of his miniſter. This petition was enforced by the advice of Intizam ad Dowlah, who enjoyed the chief confidence of the emperor and his mother, to whoſe affections he had ſucceeded on the death of Jaweed Khan. Ahmed Shaw refuſed the cannon, and marched from Dhely with a ſmall army of houſehold guards, but a cumbrous train of followers and baggage, carrying with him all the ladies of the haram, to Secundra. Ghazee ad Dien, on intelligence of this, detached a party of Mharattas to impede his progreſs. Theſe plunderers ſurprized the royal camp at night. Ahmed Shaw, with his mother and vizier, made their eſcape in covered litters to Dhely, with a few attendants, leaving their unhappy followers to the mercy of the enemy. On this occaſion, all the inſignia of royalty, the imperial baggage, and many princeſſes of the Timur family, (among whom was the widow of Mahummud Shaw) fell into the hands of the Mharattas. After the confuſion of victory and conſequent plunder, the ladies were releaſed, and furniſhed with an eſcort to Dhely.

Ghazee

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* A town between Dhely and Agra.

A. H. 1167. A. D. 1753. Ghazee ad Dien now returned to Dhely, and aſſuming the vizarut from Intizam ad Dowlah, depoſed the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw, who was blinded, and confined with his mother in Seleemgur. Yezzeez ad Dien, ſon of the late Jehaundar Shaw, was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Aulumgeer the Second. This event happened on Sunday, the tenth of Shaubaun, 1167.

This year died Suffder Jung, late vizier, and ſoubahdar of Oude, and was ſucceeded in his government and eſtates by his ſon Shujah ad Dowlah.

AULUMGEER

AULUMGEER II.

GHAZEE ad Dien Khan, upon the eſtabliſhment of the new emperor's adminiſtration, marched from Dhely, carrying the pageant monarch with him, intending to wreſt Lahore and Multaun from the Abdallee conqueror, Meer Munnoo, the governor, being lately dead, and the conſequent confuſion of affairs promiſing ſucceſs to his deſigns; but a mutiny breaking out in a corps of cavalry, the officers treacherouſly ſeized his perſon, and treated him with great indignity. His other troops were afraid to act while he was in the hands of an enemy. The emperor, who was diſguſted at the haughtineſs of his miniſter, encouraged the mutineers, and even offered them a large ſum to deliver their priſoner into his hands. In this dangerous criſis, the fortitude and addreſs of Ghazee did not forſake him. He ſoothed the diſcontented officers with aſſurances of paying their arrears and forgetting their diſreſpect to his perſon. They releaſed him; and the firſt uſe he made of his freedom was, to order Nujeeb ad Dowlah with his followers to fall upon the revolted corps. Numbers were ſlaughtered, and the reſt diſperſed. The miniſter returned for the preſent to Dhely, where he placed the weak Aulumgeer under a guard, and then taking with him the emperor's eldeſt ſon, Alee Gohur, renewed his expedition.

Ghazee ad Dien had been betrothed to the daughter of Meer Munnoo, and he now made the completion of his eſpouſals a pretence for marching to Lahore, in order to conceal his deſigns of ſeizing the government from the widow. Upon his arrival at Lodiana, he diſpatched a ſplendid eſcort and a letter to her mother, demanding his bride. She complied with his requeſt, and committed the young lady to the charge of his emiſſaries, with her marriage portion, happy to purchaſe ſo eaſily the protection of the vizier. While engaged in the feſtivities of his nuptials, the miniſter diſpatched ſuddenly a conſiderable force to Lahore, and the governeſs, not ſuſpecting treachery, was ſeized and conducted with her treaſures to the camp of her ſon in law, who conferred the government of the province on Adeena Beg Khan for an advance of thirty lacks of rupees. Upon the accompliſhment of this affair he returned to Dhely; but the widow of Meer Munnoo was not to be appeaſed, threatening him with ſpeedy vengeance for her affronts, from Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, her ſovereign. Shortly indeed were her aſſurances fulfilled; and the unfortunate ſubjects of Hindooſtan ſeverely puniſhed for the avarice of the vizier, who, however, by his addreſs eſcaped the danger, which his inſidious policy inflicted on the people.

Ahmed Shaw Abdallee immediately on intelligence of the vizier's treachery marched from Candahar to Lahore, which was evacuated on his approach, and purſued his route to Dhely. Ghazee ad Dien, knowing himſelf incapable of reſiſting ſuch an enemy, begged forgiveneſs of his mother in law, and obtaining her recommendations to the Shaw, ſet out for his camp with a few attendants. The Afghaun rebuked him ſeverely for his treacherous conduct, but conſented to pardon him, on promiſe of
A. H. 1170. a large contribution from Dhely. To the capital the miniſter
A. D. 1756. accompanied him, and, like Nadir Shaw, the conqueror took up his reſidence in the citadel. The wretched emperor Aulumgeer, being incapable of reſiſtance, affected to receive him as a royal gueſt. Dhely was for many days given up to the mercileſs plunder

der of the ſoldiery, whoſe avarice was inſatiable. Such was their cruelty in gratifying it, that numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants put themſelves to death, with their women, to eſcape diſgrace. A whole month paſſed in terror and alarms. The houſe of the late Kummir ad Dien Khan was plundered, and thoſe families who had been fortunate enough to eſcape the rapacity of Nadir Shaw, were now alſo involved in ruin. Unſatisfied with the wealth of the capital, Ahmed Shaw marched againſt the Jaut raja, Sooraujе Mul, who poſſeſſed the province of Agra, and diſpatched Ghazee ad Dien Khan with part of his army, and two princes of the houſe of Timur, to raiſe contributions from the Doaub, or countries lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

Ghazee ad Dien being arrived at Ferokhabad, Ahmed Khan Bunguſh, the ſoubahdar, purchaſed his ſafety by a ſum of money, and joined him with his troops. The miniſter intended to purſue his march into the territories of the young navob of Oude, Shujah ad Dowlah, who, ſuſpecting his deſigns, had marched with all his forces to the frontier of his country, and was joined by the navob Saadoollah Khan, chief of the Rohillas, an alliance then ſubſiſting between them. Ghazee, after trying in vain to detach Saadoollah from his friend, thought it prudent to ſuſpend hoſtilities, and finally to give over all deſigns upon Oude, on Shujah's conſenting to pay him an offering of five lacks of rupees for the young princes. He halted his army at Ferokhabad, being unwilling to return to the Afghan conqueror without the ſums he had promiſed him.

Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, who had in perſon marched againſt the raja Sooraujе Mul, after taking Bullumgur, a ſtrong fortreſs, and inflicting a general maſſacre on the unhappy inhabitants of Muttra, (a city venerated as holy among the Hindoos, and the reſort of pilgrims from all parts of the empire) was employed in reducing the citadel of Agra, which the imperial governor had refuſed to ſurrender; when a plague breaking out in his camp obliged him to think of retreating, leſt his army ſhould be ſo reduced, as to leave him a prey to the reſentment of the conquered. He, accordingly, raiſed the ſiege of Agra, and returned to Dhely, near which he was met by the wretched Aulumgeer, who entreated him not leave him in the power of his oppreſſive miniſter Ghazee ad Deen Khan. At his requeſt, Nujeeb ad Dowlah was appointed ameer al omra, and enjoined to protect his maſter againſt the power of the vizier. At this time, the two widows of the late Mahummud Shaw, fearful of reſiding longer in Dhely, offered the daughter of that emperor to Ahmed Shaw, and petitioned for an aſylum for themſelves in his dominions. He accepted the princeſs in marriage, and complied with the requeſt of the ſultanas, who accompanied him to Candahar, to which he proceeded immediately after the celebration of his nuptials. His ſon Timur Shaw, who was married at the ſame time to a daughter of Aulumgeer was left with a conſiderable force at the city of Lahore.

During theſe calamities in the capital of the empire, Dekkan was alſo vexed by revolutions. Monſieur Buſſy, the French general, who had obtained the ſole influence in the court of the nizam Sullabut Jung, was governed in his turn by the advice of Hyder Jung, a native muſſulman, who led him as he pleaſed. Mr. Buſſy continued to conduct the affairs of Dekkan, till, by the intrigues of Nizam Alee, brother to Sullabut Jung, his counſellor Hyder Jung was aſſaſſinated, and the Engliſh, who had patronized Mahummud Alee Khan in the province of Arcot, growing powerful, he was obliged to return into the French territories to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen. Nizam Alee, being without a rival, depoſed his brother, and aſſumed the government; but his power was much curtailed by the Mharattas,

rattas, who obliged him to reſign a great part of his territories, and pay a tribute for the remainder. The Engliſh, after a long ſtruggle with the French, took Pondicherry, which they deſtroyed, and obtained from the nizam a grant of the jaghires which had been given to their competitors in Dekkan.[*]

Upon the retreat of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, Ghazee ad Dien Khan having prevailed on the navob of Ferokhabad, Ahmed Khan Bunguſh, to join him with his troops, and called to his aſſiſtance an army of Mharattas under Ragonaut Raow and Holkar, marched to Dhely. The emperor and Nujeeb ad Dowlah, after a ſiege of forty five days, were obliged to ſubmit to the enemy. Nujeeb ad Dowlah, by bribing the Mharattas, obtained leave to retire to his government; but the wretched emperor was left in the power of his miniſter. Ahmed Khan was appointed ameer al amra, as a return for his ſervices. Ghazee ad Dien now poſſeſſed uncontrouled what little of the imperial power remained to the poſſeſſor of Dhely, but his jealouſy was alarmed by the emperor's eldeſt ſon, Alee Gohur, who had obtained from his father a jaghire in the vicinity of the capital, and was employed in raiſing contributions from it, for his ſupport, at the head of a ſmall body of troops. The vizier obliged the emperor to recall the prince, who returned to Dhely; but the artifices of the miniſter could not prevail upon him to enter the citadel, where he knew he ſhould be made a priſoner. Ghazee, enraged at his reſiſtance, ſurrounded his palace; when the prince, by a gallant effort, cut his way with a very few brave followers through the troops, and made his eſcape to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, who protected him for eight months; at the expiration of which he marched to try his fortune in Bengal, the navob of which province, Serauje ad

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[*] Theſe events are amply detailed in the works of Meſſrs. Orme and Cambridge.

Dowlah had been depoſed by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and Meer Jaffier ſet up in his room.

Ghazee ad Dien Khan, diſappointed in his attacks on the prince, reſolved to execute vengeance on Nujeeb ad Dowlah, his protector; and for this purpoſe called in an army of Mharattas, under the chiefs Junko and Duttah Sindia, who invaded his country, which he defended againſt them for ſome months, being aſſiſted by the navob of Oude and the Rohillas; when the Mharattas, at length, agreed for a ſum of money to grant him peace, being called upon to defend their newly acquired territories in Lahore, which were threatened with loſs by the approach of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, apprehenſive of the reſentment of that prince for the indignities ſhewn to Aulumgeer, and the removal of Nujeeb ad Dowlah from the poſt of ameer al amra conferred upon him by Abdallee, aſſaſſinated his unhappy ſovereign; and leaving Dhely in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas, retired to one of the fortreſſes of Raja Sooraujе Mul, chief of the Jauts, who gave him protection. [a]Mohee al Sunnut, ſon of Kaum Bukhſh, and grandſon of Aurungzebe, was ſeated on the throne, by the title of [b]Shaw Jehaun, and inſulted with the empty name of emperor.

When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, left his ſon Timur Shaw with Jehaun Khan at Lahore, that chief thought it prudent to beſtow a conſiderable tract of country in farm on Adeena Beg Khan, the general of the late Meer Munnoo, who was at the head of a conſiderable body of troops. Adeena Beg accepted his offer, and for ſome time remained faithful in his employment; but, being at length ſuſpicious of Jehaun Khan's intentions towards him, he quitted his office, and retired to the hills with his followers, where he excited the Siks to rebellion and, in conjunction with them, overran the country between the rivers Rawee and Suttulludge. Jehaun Khan ſent againſt him Moraud Khan, who was defeated, and the Durannies driven from ſeveral places. At this time, Ragonaut Raow, Shumſheer Bahadur, and Holkar, had reached the vicinity of Dhely with an army of Mharattas, to whom Adeena Beg Khan diſpatched frequent invitations to invade Lahore, which they accepted. At Sirhind they were oppoſed by the governor, whom they defeated and took priſoner; after which they proceeded to Lahore by forced marches. Jehaun Khan, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, found himſelf unequal to defence againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers, and flying with Timur Shaw in the greateſt haſte, evacuated the country. His retreat put the victors in poſſeſſion of the provinces of Lahore and Multaun; the former of which they conferred upon Adeena Beg Khan, on his agreeing to pay them annually the ſum of [*] ſeventy five lacks of rupees, and retreated to Dhely. On the rains approaching, they marched back to Dekkan, but left a body of troops under Junko, as ſoubahdar of Ajmere, to protect their conqueſts.

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[a] Reviver of religion.

[b] King of the world.

The next year, Adeena Beg Khan dying, Junko gave the government of Sirhind to Suddeek Beg Khan, the country between the rivers to the widow of Adeena Beg Khan, and appointed Summa, a Mharatta chief, to reſide at Lahore as ſoubahdar, who extended his dependancies as far north as the river Attok. During theſe events, the Mharatta power had ſpread itſelf in almoſt every province of Hindooſtan, when Nujeeb ad Dowlah, the Rohillas, and Shujah ad Dowlah united, to prevent, if poſſible, the total overthrow of Mahummedan exiſtence in the empire. Nujeeb ad Dowlah was at this time cloſely blocked up at Sukkertal; and though Shujah ad Dowlah had in ſome meaſure aſſiſted him, yet the number of the enemy was ſo ſuperior, that there was little proſpect of long holding out againſt

[*] Seven hundred thouſand pounds.

againſt them. The Hindoo princes alſo were equally oppreſſed by the Mharattas; who, though of the ſame faith, only left a bare maintenance to thoſe whom they conquered. Both Muſſulmauns and Hindoos joined in petitions to Ahmed Shaw, that he would march and aſſume the throne of Dhely, in which they promiſed to ſupport him. The Abdallee, enraged at the ſeizure of Lahore by the Mharattas, was rejoiced at the invitation, which aſſured him that he would only have one enemy to oppoſe, and he reſolved to accept it. He advanced without delay acroſs the Attak, and drove the Mharattas before him to Lahore, which they evacuated alſo upon his arrival. They were joined in their flight by Suddeek Beg Khan, the widow of Adeena Beg, and their other renters; nor did they ſtop till they had reached the vicinity of Dhely. From Lahore, Ahmed Shaw advanced towards Dhely. Upon intelligence of his approach reaching Duttah Sindia, that chief raiſed the blockade of Nujeeb ad Dowlah's camp, without finiſhing a negotiation of peace then began, and marched with an army of eighty thouſand horſe againſt Ahmed Shaw. That prince had croſſed the Jumna, on account of the great ſcarcity of proviſions in the high road from Lahore, owing to the late depredations of the Mharattas, who had plundered and laid waſte the country in their flight, in order to retard his purſuit, and, perhaps, oblige him to retreat to his own country for want of ſubſiſtance. He was ſoon joined by the chiefs Nujeeb ad Dowlah, Saadoollah Khan, Hafiz Rhamut, and Doondee Khan, who ſupplied his army with grain and other neceſſaries from their territories eaſt of the Ganges. The Mharattas encamped near Dhely, and Ahmed Shaw marched to give them battle. For ſome days, the Duranny remained hovering round their camp, and ſkirmiſhing only took place between detached parties on either ſide. At length Duttah, diſtreſſed for proviſions, having firſt ſent off his nephew Junko to Dekkan, with a ſmall party, determined to hazard a battle. With his whole army diſmounted, he drew up in front of his camp, inviting the Durannies to action. The challenge was accepted, and a bloody engagement ſucceeded, in which, at laſt, Duttah and the greateſt part of his troops were cut to pieces. Ahmed Shaw the ſame day, immediately after the victory, haſtened in purſuit of Junko, and did not quit it till he arrived at Narnoul. Here he received intelligence that Holkar, who was the Mharatta chief in the Jeypore country, had marched to Soorauje Mul, chief of the Jauts, whom he endeavoured to prevail upon to join him; but he alleged in his excuſe for not complying, that he could not ſpare troops from his garriſons, which he muſt defend againſt the Durannies. Holkar upon this moved with his own troops to Secundra, [a] twenty coſs to the eaſtward of Dhely, where the Rohilla chiefs had collected ſtores of grain, and a ſupply of money for the Shaw's army, hoping to diſtreſs him by ſeizing them; but the Rohillas had taken the precaution to move the grain acroſs the Ganges. The Shaw, upon this intelligence, detached Shaw Puſſund Khan with a body of horſe againſt Holkar. In the ſpace of twenty four hours he marched with fifteen thouſand horſe from Narnoul to Dhely, the diſtance of [b] ſeventy coſs, and only remaining a day at that city for refreſhment, croſſed the Jumna the night following, and about dawn arrived at Secundra, where Holkar was encamped. The Mharatta chief was completely ſurprized, and had ſcarce time to make his eſcape quite naked, with about three hundred followers. The reſt of his troops were either killed or taken priſoners, and a great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Ahmed Shaw moved from Narnoul to Dhely; and at the approach of the rains croſſed the Jumna to canton at Secundra, for the convenience of being ſupplied with proviſions, as the country round Dhely, on the weſtern bank of the Jumna, had been laid waſte and deſolate by his own and the enemy's depredations.

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[a] Forty miles.

[b] One hundred and forty miles.

When intelligence of Duttah Sindia's defeat and death, the loſs of Lahore, Dhely, and the overthrow of Holkar, reached Dekkan, Suddaſheo Raow, commonly called Bhaow, nephew to Ballajee, the peſhwa, and ſeveral other chiefs of the firſt note, and an army of ſepoys, diſciplined in the European method, artillery, and an innumerable hoſt of cavalry, marched to regain their poſſeſſions in Hindooſtan. Upon the arrival of this army near Agra, Soorauje Mul, the Jaut raja, was prevailed upon by Mulhar and Holkar, who had taken refuge with him, to viſit the Bhaow; and at Muttra, Ghazee ad Dien Khan with a few followers joined them.

H. 1173. D. 1759. Suddaſheo Bhaow, as the rapidity and depth of the Jumna would not permit him to croſs and attack the Duranny Shaw, marched to Dhely, which he entered, and immediately commenced an aſſault upon the palace. One attack was made at the lion baſtion, and another at the Dhely gate. Holkar and Junko endeavoured to force the gate, but in vain. At length, five hundred men with matchlocks, under Eetul Raow, ſcaled the walls near the lion baſtion, and forced their way to the doors of the royal haram. Some Durannies now ruſhed from Seleemghur, and by a volley laid twelve of the aſſailants dead; which ſo alarmed the reſt, that they in the greateſt diſorder turned their backs, and threw themſelves over the walls. The Mharatta chiefs then retired to the palace of Saadoollah Khan. They erected batteries in different places, and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who commanded the diſciplined ſepoys and artillery, brought three pieces of cannon to bear on the fort from the bank of the Jumna, with which he battered the lion baſtion, the octagonal tower, and the royal haram. Great part of the private audience hall, and other apartments were damaged, and the unfortunate confined princes and princeſſes thrown into terror and confuſion. For ſome days cannonading continued; at the end of which, Yacoob Ali Khan, the Duranny governor, finding proviſions fall ſhort, and ſeeing that no aſſiſtance could reach him from Ahmed Shaw, on account of the fulneſs of the Jumna, propoſed to ſurrender the palace, on condition of being allowed to march out unmoleſted, with his followers and effects. His offer was complied with; and, evacuating the fort, he croſſed the Jumna in boats with his garriſon, and proceeded to the camp of Ahmed Shaw. The Bhaow gave the command of the garriſon to Naroo Sunker, a bramin of diſtinction. The Bhaow, though he had the preſumption to aſpire at the empire of Hindooſtan, was low and mean in his actions. He broke down the ceiling of the grand hall of audience, which was of ſilver, and melted it for coin. The gold and ſilver plate at the tombs of [a] Nizam ad Dien Ouleah, and thoſe at the ſepulchres of the emperors, as cenſers, lamps, and candleſticks, he alſo ſeized; and was guilty of every plunder expreſſive of a little mind. He had the imprudence to remain at Dhely, though the utmoſt ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed, owing to the country adjacent having been the ſcene of war for four years ſucceſſively. Towards the concluſion of the rains, he marched out to plunder the little cultivation which had taken place. On the twenty ninth of Suffir he placed Shaw [b] Jewan Bukht, ſon A.H. 1174. of Alee Gohur Shaw Aulum, on the throne, and appointed A.D. 1760. Shujah ad Dowlah his vizier, to whom firmauns were ſent, in

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[a] A celebrated Mahummedan ſaint.

[b] The ſame prince, who, in the year 1784, made his eſcape from Dhely, and threw himſelf on the protection of Mr. Haſtings; who, by his influence with the vizier, obtained for him an allowance of forty thouſand pounds per annum. On his death a liberal ſhare of this penſion was continued to his women and family, who yet reſide at Banaras, under the Engliſh protection.

in hopes that this meaſure would breed diſſention between him and Anmed Shaw Abdallee. Having left Naroo Sunker in Dhely to command the garriſon, he at length marched with his army to Gunjeporah, where Abd al Summud Khan, Nujabut Khan, and Koottub Khan, with the zemindars of the country, were ſtationed to procure grain for the Duranny camp. He laid ſiege to the fort, which fell in a few days, and the chiefs were all ſlain in the ſtorm.

The Duranny Shaw, immediately upon receiving intelligence of this event, though the river Jumna was not yet ſafely fordable, gave orders for march, and ſwam with his army acroſs the river at Pakput near Dhely, though not without the loſs of many men, who were drowned in the attempt; which, however, ſo aſtoniſhed the Bhaow, who had marched to plunder the town of Sirhind, that he gave up the deſign, and returned with precipitation to Panniput. He had with him one hundred and forty thouſand horſe, commanded by the moſt celebrated and veteran Mharatta chiefs, beſides his corps of ſepoys and artillery; but, with this great force, not thinking himſelf equal to engage the Abdallee, he entrenched himſelf on a plain to the north of Panniput. The Duranny army ſoon arrived near him, and Ahmed Shaw ſent out parties to prevent grain from paſſing to his camp. Daily ſkirmiſhes took place between bodies from both armies. At length, Ahmed Shaw finding that nothing would force the Mharattas from their camp, reſolved upon an aſſault. Jehaun Khan, Puſſund Khan, and Nujeeb ad Dowlah, formed the van, and were followed by the other Indian chiefs. The Mharattas on their approach drew out at a little diſtance in front of their lines. The action began with much fury at twelve o'clock, and continued doubtful with great ſlaughter till near twilight, when the Rohilla infantry of Nujeeb ad Dowlah forced their way into the enemy's works, and Bulwunt Raow, a near relation to the Bhaow, was killed, with a great number of men; but night coming on, Ahmed Shaw ordered a retreat, and the ſtruggle ceaſed. Famine and ſickneſs raged in the Mharatta camp, and numbers died every day; but they ſtill held out, in hopes of being ſhortly ſupplied with proviſions by Govind Pundit, the chief of Etawa and Korah, who had been collecting grain and money, which he had brought as far as Shawdirruk near Dhely, with an eſcort of ten thouſand horſe, intending to march up on the ſide of the Jumna oppoſite the Shaw's camp, and by degrees join his friends. Ahmed Shaw had intelligence of his motions, and ſent Atta Beg Duranny, with five thouſand horſe, to intercept him. This chief croſſed the Jumna, and in two days by forced marches reached Shawdirruk, where he ſurprized and put to death the deputy of Naroo Sunker, and all his people. From thence he advanced to Ghazee ad Dien Nuggur, and cut off a party of the enemy at that place. He then haſtened to Jellallabad, where Govind Pundit had arrived with his convoy the ſame day. He was completely ſurprized, and his followers moſtly fled. Thoſe who reſiſted were cut to pieces, with himſelf and all his chief officers. The rich convoy, with the head of Govind Pundit, was conducted to Ahmed Shaw; who by this ſtroke completed the blockade of the Mharatta camp beyond relief. The enemy's ſtation was now rendered intolerable by filth of every kind, numbers dying every day of famine and ſickneſs. The chiefs held a conſultation, and agreed, that as by remaining in entrenchments they muſt periſh with diſeaſe and hunger, it was better to hazard a battle, and, if defeated, fly to Dekkan. They marched out of their camp, and advanced, with their artillery in front, towards the army of the Shaw, who was prepared for their reception, and permitted them to move a conſiderable diſtance from their works. At length the Afghauns ruſhed upon them with ſuch fury, as not to give them time to uſe their cannon. Little reſiſtance was made, as the [*]Bhaow was killed almoſt on the onſet, which had an immediate effect on his troops, who fell into confuſion. Junko and many other chiefs of note fell, and the route became general. Ibrahim Khan Gardee with his ſepoys made ſome ſtand, but were overpowered, and cut to pieces. The field floated with the blood of the numerous ſlain. Two and twenty thouſand men and women were taken priſoners, and the plunder of the Mharatta camp exceeded all valuation. A great train of artillery, fifty thouſand horſes, two hundred thouſand cattle, ſeveral thouſand camels, and five hundred elephants, formed a part of this vaſt capture. But this was not all the loſs of the enemy; for thoſe who had eſcaped from the hands of the Durannies were moſtly put to death in the villages, where they had hoped to find refuge; and of the chiefs of any rank, only three, among whom was Holkar Mulhar, found their way to Dekkan. In that country the intelligence of the defeat ſpread an univerſal conſternation, and threw the Mharatta ſtates into a confuſion, from which, had the princes of Hindooſtan followed the blow by a unity of action among themſelves, they never could have recovered. But the nobles of Hindooſtan had no ſooner rid themſelves of this general enemy, than their animoſities revived againſt each other. The Duranny Shaw after his victory marched to Dhely, where he continued ſome months. Before his departure, he acknowledged Shaw Aulum as emperor of Hindooſtan, and commanded Shujah ad Dowlah and the other chiefs to ſubmit to his authority. Sultan Jewan Bukht was continued on the throne as regent, till his father, then in Bengal, ſhould return to Dhely; and Nujeeb ad Dowlah was entruſted with the care of the city and protection of the royal family.

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[*] Several pretenders have ſince ſtarted up, calling themſelves the Bhaow. In 1779 one appeared at Banaras, and began to levy troops and raiſe diſturbances in the city; upon which he was ſeized, and confined in the Engliſh garriſon of Chunar, from whence he was releaſed by Mr. Haſtings in 1782.

SHAW

SHAW AULUM 2^{d}.

A. H. 1175. A. D. 1761. SHUJAH ad Dowlah having received the khelaut of the vizarut from Shaw Aulum, who was on his march from Patna, where he had been acknowledged by the [*]Engliſh, and the navob Meer Cauſim Khan, haſtened to receive him on the confines of his province, at the river Carumnaſſa. From thence the emperor and vizier marched into Bondelcund, and ſeized ſeveral diſtricts from the Mharattas, not yet recovered from their late defeat. At the concluſion of this campaign, Meer Cauſim having been expelled from Bengal by the Engliſh, threw himſelf on the protection of the vizier, who agreed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his territories, when the events followed which are related in the account of the affairs of Bengal, following this hiſtory.

Nujeeb ad Dowlah, on the departure of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, being in poſſeſſion of Dhely, was ſhortly after attacked by Soorauje Mul, raja of the Jauts, who had already extended his authority over the capital of Agra and its dependancies; but the raja being ſlain, as he was imprudently riding out with a thin attendance too near the enemy's line, his army fled, and the ameer al amra obtained an almoſt bloodleſs victory. He was however ſhortly after attacked by Jowahir Mul, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Soorauje Mul, when Dhely ſuffered the hardſhips of a ſiege for forty two days; at the expiration of which, Nujeeb ad Dowlah obtained a peace by making ſome conceſſions to the young raja. From this time he governed Dhely, and the few diſtricts yet in poſſeſſion of the royal family, with moderation and juſtice, till his death; when he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon Zabtah Khan, who continued to protect the royal family; the emperor Shaw Aulum reſiding at Aleabad, with the Engliſh.

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[*] A particular account of this, and other tranſactions of Shaw Aulum in Bengal, will be ſeen in the hiſtory of that province, in this volume.

A. H. 1185.
A. D. 1771.

Shaw Aulum at length growing weary of his retirement at Aleabad, and finding, after repeated applications, that he could not obtain the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh to put him in poſſeſſion of Dhely, over which he had only a nominal authority, or to extend his real power beyond the limits of the two ſmall provinces of Aleabad and Korah, reſolved to quit their protection, and call in the Mharattas to eſcort him to the capital of the empire, near which a conſiderable army was encamped. To this reſolution he was urged on by Huſham ad Dowlah, his favourite, who hoped to acquire the ſole adminiſtration of the royal affairs, ſhould the emperor leave Aleabad, where his power was controuled by Moneer ad Dowlah, an old miniſter, who enjoyed the confidence and ſupport of the Engliſh, and with juſtice, as a reſpectable character, the favourite being a weak man, and known chiefly as the pander of the looſer pleaſures of his royal maſter. The vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, though apparently againſt the meaſure, yet privately encouraged Huſham ad Dowlah to perſuade the emperor to march, and even gave him a ſum of money, as a proof of his friendſhip; for he regarded the preſence of Shaw Aulum with the Engliſh, as a bar to the ſucceſs of plans in which he required their aſſiſtance. Moneer ad Dowlah, who was well acquainted with the character of the Mharattas, and foreſaw that his maſter would in the end fall a prey to their treachery, endeavoured, but in vain, to perſuade him againſt giving up the comfortable aſylum of Aleabad, and the ſolid revenue he enjoyed from the Engliſh protection, for the acquiſition of a deſolated capital. The preſidency of Calcutta alſo remonſtrated; but Shaw Aulum was determined. He marched from Aleabad, and was accompanied as far as the frontiers of Korah by the vizier and Sir Robert Barker, commander in chief of the Engliſh forces. The latter, at taking leave, renewed his advice that his Majeſty would remain with his nation; but Shaw Aulum was impatient to ſee himſelf enthroned in the palace of his anceſtors. He moved onwards to Ferokhabad, the navob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguſh, being lately dead, his eſtates and effects, according to the uſage of the empire, had reverted to the crown. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Muzzuffir Jung, on the payment of five lacks of rupees, as a compoſition for the royal demand, was confirmed in the poſſeſſions of his father. Shaw Aulum now had a reſpectable treaſury, having made conſiderable ſavings from the revenue paid him by the Engliſh, and alſo obtained an advance of twenty two lacks of rupees for drafts on the Bengal tribute for the enſuing year, from the vizier and Moneer ad Dowlah. His army, though ſmall, was well appointed; and he had two battalions of ſepoys, which had been diſciplined by [a] Engliſh officers.

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[a] The officers were removed on the march of Shaw Aulum. Different opinions have prevailed on the policy or impolicy of the Engliſh not joining the emperor. Had they accompanied him with a brigade, their conqueſts would doubtleſs have been ſplendid; but to preſerve them they muſt have inevitably taken the lead in all public affairs. To ſome native nobles changes muſt have occurred from that very circumſtance, and the council of Bengal knew they would have been loudly repreſented to our countrymen as acts of barbarity in the ſtigmatized ſervants of the company. My countrymen, compare impartially our conduct in the affairs of Bengal, with that of the native victors; and let the prejudices excited by intereſted, abuſive, and, perhaps, envious eloquence, give place to the proper feelings of Engliſhmen, on diſcovering that the honour of our country has not been ſullied by Engliſhmen in India. At home, you have ſeen falſe patriots daily. Believe me, we are not ſo treacherous in India. Poſterity will do us juſtice.

After a ſtay of nearly two months in the vicinity of Ferokhabad, the emperor moved to Nubby Gunge, twenty five coſs nearer Dhely; where he was joined by Sindia, a Mharatta chief, who came to ſettle the terms of ſervice, and to eſcort him to the camp of his principal Biſſajee, then encamped near Dhely. Moneer ad Dowlah had been left in charge of the provinces of Aleabad and Korah; ſo that Huſham ad Dowlah had now attained his wiſhed for office of acting miniſter. He agreed to pay the Mharattas ten lacks of rupees, when the emperor ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Dhely; but they inſiſted upon the ſum in advance; which, after much negotiation was given them, and they performed the conditions. About the latter end of December 1771, Shaw Aulum made his entry into Dhely, and received the congratulations of his family, and the inhabitants of the ancient capital of Hindooſtan.

The emperor's ſtay in Dhely was but ſhort. He had reſolved on the ruin of Zabtah Khan, for which many reaſons are aſſigned. He had, it was ſaid, been deficient in reſpect to the royal authority while Shaw Aulum reſided at Aleabad; and it was alſo whiſpered, that during his command in the palace of Dhely, he had abuſed his truſt, by corrupting the ladies of the haram, particularly the princeſs Khieroonniſſa, the emperor's ſiſter; a conduct certainly deſerving the royal diſpleaſure. Whatever were the cauſes, Shaw Aulum had determined to ſeize his territories, and the Mharattas readily agreed to aſſiſt him, not only from the hope of plunder, but of gratifying their revenge for the loſſes they had ſuffered from Nujeeb ad Dowlah; to whoſe courage the victory of Shaw Ahmed Abdallee at Pannipur had been greatly owing.

Shaw Aulum marched again in January 1772, not more than twenty days after his arrival at Dhely, with an army of ninety thouſand men, chiefly Mharatta cavalry, and without delay entered the diſtricts of Zabtah Khan; who, unable to reſiſt ſuch a force in the field, evacuated his capital of Ghoſe Ghur, which was plundered, and fled acroſs the Ganges, hoping to defend his territories on the eaſtern bank of that river, which he truſted would impede the royal progreſs. He ſtationed troops at the different fords; but this ſtep weakened his main body, and was the cauſe of his deſtruction. Nujeef Khan gallantly croſſed the river, and diſperſed the troops at one of the ſtations, when he was followed by the chief part of the Mharatta army; after which Zabtah Khan made but little reſiſtance. He fled to Pattergur, where he had depoſited his women and treaſures, but was ſo cloſely purſued, that he had not time to remove them. This place ſurrendered after a few days' ſiege, and his family and effects fell into the hands of the enemy; but Zabtah Khan, with a few attendants, made his eſcape to the camp of the vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, who was advanced to Shawabad, the frontier city of his dominions, to watch the motions of the Mharattas, attended alſo by Sir Robert Barker, with four battalions of ſepoys, and ſome officers appointed to diſcipline the vizier's regular battalions. The firſt brigade, under Colonel Champion, had alſo marched as far as Banaras, to be ready to join the vizier in caſe of neceſſity. The dry ſeaſon was ſpent by the royal army in reducing the remainder of Zabtah Khan's poſſeſſions and part of Rohilcund, the chiefs of which fled for refuge to the hills adjacent, and the principal one, Hafiz Rhamut, repaired to the camp of Shujah ad Dowlah to purchaſe his protection.

At the approach of the rains, the Mharattas preſſed the emperor to canton at Burrelly, the capital of Hafiz Rhamut's country, promiſing, at the concluſion, to reduce all Rohilcund to the royal authority, and even to attack Shujah ad Dowlah and the Engliſh; but Shaw Aulum abſolutely declined moleſting the vizier or his allies, and inſiſted on returning to Dhely; to which, much againſt their wills, they at length conſented.

This campaign ended very little to the ſatisfaction of the emperor, for the Mharattas paid him but little reſpect, and allowed him ſcarce any ſhare of the plunder or territory acquired by the war. They alſo reſtored to Zabtah Khan his women and children, for a ranſom of a lack and half of rupees, which was generouſly advanced him by Shujah ad Dowlah.

Shaw Aulum, upon his return to Dhely, rewarded the ſervices of his general Nujeef Khan, by the gift of ſome diſtricts which had been abandoned by Zabtah Khan; and eſtabliſhed other chiefs in Sarungpore and other pergunnahs taken in the campaign, which had been left to the royal diſpoſal by the Mharattas, who paſſed the rainy ſeaſon in the province of Agra, in endeavouring to reduce the Jauts to pay them the choute tribute.

At the concluſion of the rains, the affairs of the emperor aſſumed a gloomy aſpect. His treacherous allies, the Mharattas, whoſe only object was preſent gain, having drained Shaw Aulum's treaſury, agreed, for a ſum of money, to reſtore to Zabtah Khan the country, for which they had been amply paid by the ſovereign, and to give back to the Jauts ſome diſtricts which had been reſigned to the emperor on his firſt arrival at Dhely. They inſolently iſſued their orders to the royal officers to evacuate their ſtations, and they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force; ſo that in a few weeks the unhappy Shaw Aulum found himſelf without any territory but the ruined capital of Dhely, all beſides being ſold back into thoſe very hands which had held them previous to his connections with the

Mharattas. The unhappy monarch now experienced, not only loſs of territory, but perſonal indignity from his own troops; who, expelled from the diſtricts on which they had aſſignments for their pay, crowded to Dhely, and began to be clamorous for their arrears. The emperor had expended his ready money on the Mharattas, the cauſers of his diſtreſs. The miniſter, Huſham ad Dowlah, inſtead of attempting meaſures to alleviate the ſufferings of his maſter, endeavoured to turn them to his own advantage, by making them the inſtrument of ruining Nujeef Khan, of whoſe growing favour at court he was become jealous. The royal troops were moſtly diſbanded, on pretence that there was no money to pay them, and Nujeef Khan's corps among the reſt. The Mharattas were privately invited by the miniſter to Dhely. Nujeef Khan, however, was ſo beloved by his people, who regarded him as of fortunate auſpices, that they would not leave him, truſting to happier times for a reward; and many of the chiefs diſmiſſed by the miniſter embraced his fortunes. Nujeef Khan in vain endeavoured to perſuade the emperor to diſburſe money from his privy purſe, and levy troops to prevent the Mharattas from entering Dhely, as the only means to avert his ruin; but Shaw Aulum, having ſo recently experienced treachery, would not confide in him, and reſolved to truſt to chance for the deciſion of his fate. He was at the ſame time inclined to hope, from the perſuaſions of Huſham ad Dowlah, that the march of the Mharattas was not with offenſive deſigns to the royal power.

At length, the Mharatta army, with the Jauts and Rohillas under Zabtah Khan, arrived near Dhely, and Shaw Aulum, when too late, repented of his neglect of Nujeef Khan; who was now requeſted to endeavour to ſave the city. Negotiation was in vain, as the enemy demanded the controul of the emperor's perſon and the garriſon of the palace. Nujeef Khan reſolved to oppoſe them. Of the royal troops there only remained the two regular battalions of ſepoys diſciplined by the Engliſh, and two others armed with muſquets. Nujeef Khan had a body of five thouſand horſe, and a ſmall party of French, who had lately quitted the ſervice of the Jauts. With this force, but ill ſupplied with ammunition, he marched out of the city, and took poſt at about two miles diſtant from it, having the river Jumna on his left, and on his right the old citadel. His rear was defended by the artillery of the city walls. The Mharattas made a general attack, almoſt as ſoon as he had formed his line, and were repulſed with loſs; but Nujeef Khan imprudently purſuing the enemy, was drawn from his advantageous poſition, when they rallied, and ſurrounded him with ſo ſuperior a body of cavalry, as turned the fortune of the day. Nujeef Khan eſcaped with great difficulty, after the loſs of ſeveral of his beſt officers and a near relation, to the two diſciplined battalions, who nobly ſtood their ground. The French had raſhly quitted their poſt in purſuit, and, after much loſs, with the greateſt difficulty attained a ſhelter under the walls of the old citadel. The two battalions ſuſtained repeated charges till night, when the enemy retired: and Nujeef Khan, grown indifferent to life, was with force, by his friends carried into Dhely. He had attempted ſeveral times to ruſh ſingly on the enemy and court his death. It was ſaid, that this defeat was owing to the treachery of Huſham ad Dowlah, who had allowed the Mharattas to paſs unmoleſted under the walls of the city, in the rear of Nujeef Khan. It is certain that the miniſter was not diſpleaſed at the loſs of his rival.

The emperor was now obliged to throw himſelf on the mercy of his enemies. After ſome days ſpent in negotiation, the Mharattas encamped nearer the city, and their chiefs, Biſſajee and Holkar, with Zabtah Khan, eſcorted by a large body of troops, made a triumphant entry into the palace, to viſit his majeſty.

They advanced upon their elephants to the gate of the public hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the imperial family. Their followers filled the various courts of the palace. They even attempted to penetrate the female apartments, and were prevented only by the intricate windings of the paſſages from moleſting the women, and adding the worſt diſgrace to fallen royalty. At the gate of the hall of audience the chiefs condeſcended to alight, and to make the cuſtomary obeiſances; but the unfortunate emperor was obliged, at the ſame time, to deſcend from his throne, and ſit on a ſmall carpet to receive them. Biſſajee and Holkar, after ſome interval, helped him to re-aſcend his throne; which he may be ſaid now to have received from their hands. The whole of the interview paſſed in the moſt humiliating condeſcenſions of the emperor, and the greateſt inſolence on the part of the Mharattas.

After this viſit, Huſham ad Dowlah having laid the blame of reſiſtance on Nujeef Khan, and divided a lack of rupees between the two Mharatta chiefs, they, for this trifling ſum, agreed to expel his rival from Dhely. A meſſage in the royal name was ſent to Nujeef Khan, commanding him to pay money received on the emperor's account, during the laſt campaign in Rohilcund. Nujeef Khan alleged truly, that he had expended the ſum demanded, about [a] eighty thouſand rupees, on his troops; but his plea was not accepted, and he was threatened with force. By pledging ſome jewels, plate, and the contributions of friends, he made ſhift to raiſe the money, which he paid; but his danger did not end here. He was peremptorily commanded to quit the city, and threatened with force if he did not comply.

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[a] Ten thouſand pounds.

Nujeef Khan was now reduced to the laſt extremity. He ſaw that nothing but his deſtruction would ſatisfy the miniſter, and was without money for his daily ſupport; but courage, in ſuch diſtreſs, did not forſake him or his friends. They collected their women and children into the quarter ſurrounding his palace, reſolving, if forced, to ſave their honour, by putting them to death, and then ſeek their own by ruſhing on the enemy. Barricadoes were formed at the different avenues, defended by artillery. The quarter was ſurrounded by the miniſter's troops; who, however, were too cowardly to make an attack. Huſham ad Dowlah had then recourſe to the Mharattas; but they refuſed ſending troops into the city, leſt it ſhould occaſion a general maſſacre and pillage. Upon this refuſal, the miniſter obtained from the emperor, (who was inexcuſable in granting it,) a letter, written in his own hand, begging their aſſiſtance, but in vain; the gallant behaviour of Nujeef Khan having raiſed ſentiments of admiration and compaſſion in the breaſt of their chiefs. Holkar diſpatched to him his nephew, with ſolemn aſſurances of ſafety and protection, if he would quit Dhely and come to his camp. Nujeef Khan accepted his offer; but firſt reſolved to obtain, if poſſible, the emperor's diſmiſſion from his own mouth. His progreſs to the palace was conducted with a ſolemnity, which evidently proved the love and reverence his followers bore him. He was mounted on horſeback, and proceeded ſlowly through the ſtreets, guarded by his dependants to the number of ſome thouſands, on foot, with drawn ſabres, and loaded pieces, exclaiming at intervals, agreeably to the Perſian cuſtom at the great mourning on the anniverſary of the maſſacre of their Imaums, "Ya Houſſein, Ya Houſſein," with doleful cries. On his arrival at the gate of the palace, he ſent a requeſt for an interview with the emperor; but it was refuſed; nor indeed would it have been prudent or ſafe to grant it, in the preſent diſpoſition of the injured chief and his followers. From the palace he marched in the ſame ſolemn manner to the

Mharatta camp, where he was politely received by Holkar, who, on hearing that he had not eaten for ſome time for want of neceſſaries, ſupplied him with a ſum of money. After ſome converſation, Nujeef Khan returned to the city; from whence, after three days, he departed, with his family and followers, and was received into the ſervice of Holkar, at a ſalary of * ſix thouſand rupees a day for himſelf and his corps.

The Mharattas, now obliged the emperor to confer on Zabtah Khan the rank of ameer al amra, and to reſtore him the grant of almoſt all the diſtricts, of which he had only a few months before been deprived by their aſſiſtance. The Jautts were alſo reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, and the Mharattas took to themſelves an extenſive and fertile tract, lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers; ſo that Shaw Aulum was left almoſt deſtitute of revenue. He was alſo forced to make preſents, and aſſign over by grant the provinces of Aleabad and Korah to his rapacious allies; which, however, they dared not at preſent attempt to occupy, through fear of the Engliſh, who ſupported the royal governor, Moneer ad Dowlah.

D. 1773. The Mharattas having plundered Dhely, marched into Rohilcund; but their progreſs was interrupted by the arrival of Shujah ad Dowlah and an Engliſh brigade to the aſſiſtance of the Rohillas. After plundering the northern parts, on the appearance of the allied army, they retreated acroſs the Ganges, from the bank of which they fired a few ſhot on the Engliſh line; but their cannon being ſoon diſmounted by the enemy's fire, they retreated towards the Jumna, and ſhortly after returned to Dekkan, where ſome diſſentions in their own government called for the preſence of their chiefs. It is probable, that they had long before reſolved

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* Six hundred pounds ſterling and upwards.

on a retreat to their own country, and that the neceſſity of it haſtened their treacherous conduct to the emperor; being willing to obtain what they could, from the territories which they were obliged to quit.

Nujeef Khan had, on the near approach of the allied army, taken the opportunity of quitting the ſervice of Holkar, the Mharatta chief, and joining Shujah ad Dowlah, who received him with great kindneſs, appointed him his deputy in the office of vizier, and ſent him back to Dhely, with the moſt earneſt recommendations to the emperor to employ him in the room of Huſham ad Dowlah; and this advice was alſo ſeconded by Sir Robert Barker. The vizier now returned into his own dominions, where the Engliſh army alſo cantoned.

Nujeef Khan, on his arrival at Dhely, was received with the warmeſt careſſes by the emperor, now much diſguſted with and weary of the conduct of his miniſter, who had not only occaſioned his ſufferings from the Mharattas, but had alſo broken his promiſe of redeeming ſome valuable jewels, which had been intruſted to him to pledge during his neceſſities. Nujeef Khan offered not only to redeem the jewels, but to pay the arrears of the royal troops, grown mutinous, if he would deliver the miniſter into his hands. Shaw Aulum aſſented; and the fallen favourite being ſeized, his effects were confiſcated, to the amount of [*] ten lacks of rupees, little more than a fifth part of which, however, was paid to the emperor, the reſt being withheld by Nujeef Khan.

Huſham ad Dowlah had riſen to power from a menial ſituation; not by merit or diſtinguiſhed abilities, but by making infa-

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[*] One hundred thouſand pounds.

mous uſe of his maſter's foibles, in procuring beautiful women for his pleaſures. He was without education, and unable to read or write. His inſolence in office was diſguſting to all. During his adminiſtration he was feared and deteſted; and his fall was rejoiced at by all ranks. He remained in cloſe confinement nearly two years, when Nujeef Khan not only ſet him at liberty, but allotted him a liberal penſion for his ſupport in private life; in which he has ſince remained undiſtinguiſhed.

Nujeef Khan was now appointed ſecond bukhſhi, and, at his recommendation, Abdulahud Khan, his friend, third, whom he left to manage affairs with the emperor, while he himſelf engaged in an expedition againſt the Jauts, over whom he was ſucceſsful in a general action. His army conſiſted of three of the royal battalions, three thouſand Rohilla irregular infantry, and about eight thouſand horſe under various adventurers. It was ſtipulated, that he ſhould retain half the conquered diſtricts for the ſupport of his dignity and troops, and reſign the other to the emperor. Shaw Aulum now obtained repoſſeſſion of ſome diſtricts in the vicinity of Dhely, and his affairs began to wear a tolerable aſpect.

A.D. 1774. Shujah ad Dowlah was now advanced to Etawa, from whence he had driven the Mharatta garriſon, with a conſiderable army, and was waiting the arrival of an Engliſh brigade, to proceed on an expedition againſt the Rohillas, who had failed in their engagements to pay him forty lacks of rupees for his protection of their country the laſt year. Here he was viſited by Nujeef Khan, who had reduced the city of Agra from the Jauts, and it was agreed, that he ſhould invade the Rohillas on one ſide, while the vizier and his allies advanced on the other. This point being ſettled, Nujeef Khan repaired to Dhely.

Shujah ad Dowlah had diſpatched his miniſter Eeruch Khan to the capital, in the beginning of February, to negotiate with the emperor. The miniſter arrived at court with a conſiderable force and a large ſum of money. With the firſt he browbeat the royal officers, and with the other bribed largely. He propoſed to the emperor to take the field and join in the attack of the Rohillas; on which condition, the vizier promiſed to pay down immediately [a] two lacks of rupees for the expenſe of preparation, [b] ten thouſand rupees every marching day, and [c] five thouſand each halting day. He agreed alſo to reſign half the conquered country to the royal diſpoſal, when he ſhould have paid his engagements with the Engliſh for their aſſiſtance.

The emperor at firſt gave his aſſent; but his inclinations were againſt aggrandizing his vizier at the expenſe of the Rohillas, whom, it is ſaid, he informed of the deſigns againſt them. He was, however, prevailed upon to march a ſhort diſtance, and croſſing the Jumna, encamped at Shawdirruk, on the eaſtern bank, Shahder pretending to join Shujah ad Dowlah, who was now advanced to Coſſy Gunge, within an hundred miles of Dhely. Upon his entering the camp, he received the two lacks of rupees ſtipulated, and alſo [d] ſeventy five thouſand during his ſhort ſtay in the field; but ſuddenly feigning ſevere illneſs, he returned to the palace, and his further march was laid aſide. Eeruch Khan, however, by his money, threats, and promiſes, though he could not draw the emperor to join in the campaign, obtained grants for the vizier of all the Rohilla country, Kinnoje, and Etawa; alſo of the provinces of Korah and Aleabad, of which he had already received poſſeſ-

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[a] Twenty thouſand pounds.

[b] One thouſand pounds.

[c] Five hundred pounds.

[d] Seven thouſand five hundred pounds.

ſion from the Engliſh; who, as they had in fact procured them for Shaw Aulum, thought themſelves entitled to diſpoſe of them again, when he had reſigned his claim to the Mharattas. The emperor alſo, by an inſtrument in his own hand writing, conſtituted Shujah ad Dowlah ſole arbiter and director of all the royal intereſts and concerns without exception, even to the remiſſion of the tribute of Bengal. For theſe conceſſions, important as they were, Shaw Aulum received only about [a] three lacks and a half of rupees, and a promiſe from the vizier upon oath, of half the territory of the Rohillas, or an equivalent in the [b] Doaub, more adjacent to the capital; but this condition was never performed, though ſo ſolemnly made.

Eeruch Khan alſo prevailed on the emperor to give Zabtah Khan the farm of the revenues of Mheerut, then in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas, who were now expelled from it and all the weſtern provinces, except a ſmall territory in Ajmere. The vizier obtained this favour in order to ſecure Zabtah Khan in his intereſt, againſt his own contrymen the Rohillas.

During this negotiation, Nujeef Khan arrived at Dhely from his viſit to Shujah ad Dowlah, and was at firſt received with great coolneſs, not undeſervedly, for he had neglected the performance of his engagements to reſign to the emperor half the conqueſts from the Jauts, and had refuſed to admit a royal officer into the command of the citadel of Agra, which he had promiſed to do when joined by the emperor's battalions; but as Shaw Aulum could not puniſh his diſreſpect, he was ſeemingly reconciled to him, on Nujeef Khan's making new proteſtations of loyalty. The imperial troops, however, were no longer allowed to act under his orders.

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[a] Thirty five thouſand pounds.

[b] Country between the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

Towards the end of April 1774, Nujeef Khan marched from Dhely to join Shujah ad Dowlah; who with his allies the Engliſh, had defeated the Rohillas in a general engagement, in which Hafiz Rhamut, the leading chief being killed, the others fled for refuge to the hills, leaving their country an eaſy prey to the vizier; who took poſſeſſion of all Rohilcund, except the diſtricts of Rampore, which were granted in jaghire to Fyzoollah Khan, at the mediation of the Engliſh, upon his ſubmiſſion to the vizier. Zabtah Khan alſo joined Shujah ad Dowlah; but being greatly in arrear to the royal treaſury for the revenue of his country, Shaw Aulum, in his abſence, detached a force, who expelled his collectors from Mheerut and other diſtricts without oppoſition.

The emperor's affairs, though far from brilliant, yet, by the addition of territory taken from Zabtah Khan, aſſumed a comfortable aſpect; and had he joined Shujah ad Dowlah, it is probable he would have obtained ſome further acquiſition; but he was diverted from it by the acting miniſter Abdulahud Khan, who feared his own influence would be loſt in the ſuperior conſequence of the vizier: nor was this the firſt time that Shaw Aulum ſuffered by ſacrificing to the ſelf-intereſt of a favourite.

Nujeef Khan, after performing what was required of him in the Rohilla war, returned to Dhēly, reinforced by ſome troops lent him by Shujah ad Dowlah, who heartily forwarded his advancement, and, it is ſaid, recommended him to remove Abdulahud Khan from the emperor. The miniſter, ſuſpecting the deſign againſt him, was on his guard, and would not move from the citadel; till at length Nujeef Khan finding Shaw Aulum much averſe to the removal of the favourite, and his march from Dhely on his own affairs becoming urgent, he aſſented to his remaining in office, and a ſeeming reconciliation took place.

Not long after this, Shaw Aulum received an offer from Cauſim Alee Khan, the fugitive navob of Bengal, who had come from Jeypore to the neighbourhood of Dhely, of ſeven lacks of rupees for the office held by Abdulahud Khan; but that miniſter, having intelligence of his ſchemes, procured an order to force him from the royal domains. It is ſuſpected, that the emperor would have accepted the propoſal, could he have done it without danger; but it is certain, that he ſtrongly denied having liſtened to it, and laid the blame upon ſome of his ſervants, who were immediately diſmiſſed, at the requeſt of Abdulahud Khan. Cauſim Alee died ſhortly after, at an obſcure village near Dhely, unpitied even by his own family, for not even misfortune could ſoften the cruelty of his mind. He had been accompanied in his flight by ſeveral faithful dependants; but they were almoſt all in the end obliged to abandon him, his cauſeleſs jealouſy of their ſincerity expoſing them to conſtant perſonal danger. Upon his eſcape from Shujah ad Dowlah at the battle of Buxar, he firſt retired into the Rohilla country, where he found a comfortable aſylum; but his intrigues rendering him diſagreeable to the chief under whoſe protection he reſided, he was obliged to leave it, and took ſhelter with the rana of Ghoed. After ſome years reſidence in his country, he proceeded to * Jodepore, and from thence came to try his fortune in the ſervice of the emperor, in which he met with the diſappointment related. Cauſim Alee Khan certainly poſſeſſed abilities. He would have been a ſerviceable miniſter to a prince within the line of finance; but for a ſovereign ſtation he was unfit, being cruel, meanly ſuſpicious, and puſillanimous. In his proſperity, he forgot the friends who had given it him; and in his adverſe fortune, he illuſed thoſe who ſhared it with him. The Engliſh,

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* Capital of the Marwar Rajaſhip.

Engliſh, deceived by his elegance of manners, which he poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree, and convinced of his ſkill in the finances of Bengal, (which province and its dependancies had fallen to their diſpoſal, by the chance of war and inability of Meer Jaffier,) choſe him for his ſucceſſor; and from that inſtant he became their enemy, and impatient to cut off the hands which had exalted him. His jealouſy of the Engliſh was not that of a great mind, which cannot bear an equal, but of a low cunning, feeling itſelf incapable of returning confidence for confidence, and therefore deſirous of burying obligation in the deſtruction of his patrons. Had this not been the caſe, he would have relied on the promiſes of Mr. Vanſittart, whoſe nobility of ſentiment and liberality of heart were fully known to him, for the arrangement of connection between him and the Engliſh: but the wickedneſs of his own mind made him ſuſpect others, and he fell deſervedly from his high ſtation.[1]

About this time, Sumroo, the bloody agent of Cauſim Alee's cruelty at Patna, having left the ſervice of the Jauts, came to Dhely, and was entertained by the miniſter; but at the expiration of four months, Abdulahud Khan, fearful of exciting the reſentment of the Engliſh, diſcharged him, and he was immediately retained by Nujeef Khan, though he had remonſtrated to the emperor on the impropriety of his accepting his ſervices.

It may not be improper in this place to mention ſome particulars of Sumroo. His real name was Walter Reinehard, and he was of obſcure parentage in the Electorate of Treves. He entered early as a common ſoldier into the ſervice of the French, taking for his *Nom de Guerre*, Summer, which his comrades, from his ſaturnine complexion, turned into Sombre, and the Indians, by corruption, Sumroo. At length he repaired to

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[1] For Cauſim Alee's hiſtory, *vide* Tranſactions of Bengal, in this volume.

Bengal, and enliſted into one of the Swiſs companies then employed at Calcutta; but at the end of eighteen days deſerted to the French at Chandernagore, where he became a ſerjeant. Deſerting this poſt, he fled into the upper provinces, and was for ſome time a private trooper in the cavalry of Suffder Jung, father to Shujah ad Dowlah. This ſervice he quitted, and led a vagabond life in different provinces; but in 1760 was with the rebel ſojedaur of Purnea. Upon his being expelled from Bengal, Sumroo left him, and entered into the ſervice of Gregory, an Armenian, then in high favour with Cauſim Alee, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of Goorgeen Khan. From him he had the command of a battalion of ſepoys, and afterwards obtained from the navob the addition of another. In this ſtation he maſſacred the Engliſh captives at Patna. Some time previous to the battle of Buxar, he treacherouſly deſerted Caaſim Alee with his corps, and embraced the ſervice of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had gained him over by bribes. Upon his defeat at Buxar, he was entruſted with the protection of the Begums, and remained with the vizier till he had made peace with the Engliſh; when, fearful of being delivered up to them, he retired to Agra, and entered into the pay of the Jaut raja, Jowahir Sing; but quitted him for the ſervice of the raja of Jeypore, who ſoon diſmiſſed him on a remonſtrance from the Engliſh general. He then again ſerved the Jauts; quitted them once more, and came to Dhely; from whence, as related, he followed the fortunes of Nujeef Khan, in whoſe ſervice he died. Such are the outlines of the fortune of this man, who had ſome merit as a ſoldier, but wholly obſcured by a treacherous and blood-thirſty diſpoſition. His corps was[*] continued after his death, in the name of his ſon and a favourite concubine, who received for their maintenance the ſum of ſixty five thouſand rupees per month.

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[*] Six thouſand five hundred pounds.

Towards the latter end of the year 1774, Zabtah Khan, at the recommendation of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had deprived him of his territories eaſt of the Ganges, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of friendſhip before the defeat of the Rohillas, was, to make ſome amends for the diſappointment, called to Dhely, and reſtored to his farm of Mheerut and other diſtricts, on condition of paying a revenue of nine lacks of rupees to the royal treaſury.

In the month of January 1775, died the vizier Shujah ad Dowlah, in the midſt of his victories and higheſt proſperity. He had planned the extenſion of his dominions over all the territory uſurped by the Mharattas in the provinces of Malwa, Agra, and Bondelcund; and, had he lived a few years longer, there is little doubt, but that with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he would have confined the Poonah government to their poſſeſſions ſouth of the Nerbudda river; which would have been a bleſſing to the diſtracted empire of the Mahummedans in Hindooſtan. In the early part of his life he was vain, and addicted to pleaſure, for which he too much neglected public buſineſs; but on the recovery of his dominions after the battle of Buxar, he ſhewed that adverſity had been to him a ſerviceable tutoreſs, by bringing forth the better qualities of his mind into action. As a prince, he was wiſe, and dignified in character; as a private man, affable, humane and generous. In a ſituation, where the attainment of a ſplendid object too generally palliates the means of purſuit, however treacherous, and in a country where arts, common to all, are unhappily neceſſary for ſelf-defence, his policy was leſs marked with blood than that of moſt princes who are eſteemed in Hindooſtan as deſerving general applauſe. By his own ſubjects he was ſincerely beloved; and even the ſons of Hafiz Rhamut, whoſe country he had ſeized, wept at his death. Had he been placed among a virtuous people, he might have been a virtuous prince; and among thoſe he was obliged to govern and contend with, he was eminently ſuperior in every good quality.*

Shujah ad Dowlah was ſucceeded in territory by his eldeſt ſon, Aſoph ad Dowlah; and upon his preſenting a peſhcuſh, or offering, and ſending a general with five thouſand men and ſome artillery to attend the emperor, was inveſted alſo with the office of vizier.

A. D. 1776. The troops ſent by Aſoph ad Dowlah reached Dhely at a time, important even to the perſonal ſafety of Shaw Aulum, the royal army having been juſt defeated by Zabtah Khan, who had refuſed paying the revenues of the diſtricts of which he had the collection, and taken up arms to ſupport his diſobedience. The arrival of the vizier's troops alone prevented him from becoming maſter of Dhely and the fate of his ſovereign. Zabtah Khan, however, by the mediation of Luttafut, Aſoph ad Dowlah's general, who was bribed largely on the occaſion, was again pardoned, his arrears remitted, and re-appointed to the truſts he had betrayed, Shaw Aulum having not reſolution or power to refuſe his aſſent.

A. D. 1777. This year the emperor, aſſiſted by Nujeef Khan, who had completed his conqueſts over the Jauts, marched once more againſt Zabtah Khan, who had again rebelled. The greateſt part of his country was taken, but little advantage accrued to Shaw Aulum, moſt of the recovered diſtricts being given by the general as ſecurities for pay to the chiefs of different corps. The emperor kept the field from April to December; when, weary of being led as a pageant by Nujeef Khan, who only uſed his authority to aggrandize himſelf, he returned in diſguſt to Dhely, and Nujeef Khan repaired to Agra, of which province he was now maſter, and kept up only a nominal allegiance to his ſovereign.

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* An account of Shujah ad Dowlah's warfare with the Engliſh is given in the hiſtory of Bengal, in this volume.

No remarkable event occurred in the emperor's concerns till the concluſion of the rains this year; when ſome propoſals being made by a Raajepoote chief, then at war with Nujeef Khan, the miniſter, [a] Mujd ad Dowlah, thinking them favourable to his views of humbling the latter, perſuaded Shaw Aulum to take the field, under a pretence of a pilgrimage to [b] Ajmere, to cover the real object of the expedition from Nujeef Khan. The emperor, accordingly, moved by ſlow marches to Narnoul, about fifty coſs from Dhely, which he reached near the cloſe of the year. By this time, the raja, to aſſiſt whom the campaign was made, being taken priſoner, Mujd ad Dowlah changing his object, employed the royal force to ſhare the advantages of his deſtruction with Nujeef Khan. Several diſtricts were ſeized, and the miniſter now thought ſeriouſly of leading his maſter to Ajmere, and exacting a tribute from the raja of Jeypore in the route. Nujeef Khan was ſummoned to attend the royal ſtandard, though, probably, his preſence was not deſired by Mujd ad Dowlah. In January 1779, the royal army arrived near Jeypore, and the minor raja, lately acceded to the muſnud by the death of his uncle, was ſummoned to attend the emperor. The regent was embaraſſed how to act; not chuſing to truſt the royal miniſter, who had taken many of the Raajepoote chiefs, his enemies, into pay; nor did he wiſh to exaſperate the emperor by diſreſpect. In this dilemma, he ſought the patronage of Nujeef Khan, who willingly gave it him, being

A.D. 1778

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[a] Abdulahud Khan, who had received this title, ſignifying, Exalter of the ſtate.

[b] At this city is the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan ſaint.

deſirous of depriving Mujd ad Dowlah of the credit and advantage of an influence in Jeypore, on which he had views of his own. The miniſter was amuſed, by promiſes from the regent of coming to an interview, till Nujeef Khan joined the royal camp, when the raja declared his wiſhes of having him only for his mediator with the emperor. Mujd ad Dowlah dared not refuſe, as Nujeef Khan was ſuperior in force; and Shaw Aulum conſented from the ſame cauſe. Eight lacks of rupees were ſettled for the offering, of which two only were paid to the royal treaſury; but Nujeef Khan obtained a much larger ſum, beſides the advantage which the credit of his ſuperiority over Mujd ad Dowlah gave him in the eyes of the Raajepootes. Nor was this all; the diſtricts taken by the royal army being reſigned to him and his friends, for which he gave up a tract near Dhely, leſs convenient and beneficial to his government. At his requeſt, the pilgrimage was laid aſide, and the emperor returned to his capital after a tireſome campaign; which had only ſerved to bring freſh inſults on his authority, from the weakneſs of Mujd ad Dowlah and the ingratitude of Nujeef Khan.

.D. 1779. The royal army had ſcarce returned to Dhely, when the miniſter again reſolved to take the field, and prevailed on the emperor to ſend with him his ſecond ſon, the prince * Ferkhundeh Akhter. Great preparations were made, which took up ſeveral months, and excited the attention of the public. Various were the reports of his intentions. At one time, it was ſuppoſed he had entered into negotiations of alliance with the Mharattas, who had defeated the Engliſh army from Bombay, and threatened to attack them in Oude and Bengal. At another, it was rumoured that the royal army was to be joined by the Siks, and to fall on Nujeef Khan for his neglect of the emperor. At length,

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* Of auſpicious ſtars.

length, in the month of June 1779, Mujd ad Dowlah with his royal pupil moved from Dhely, and advanced to Panniput, with ſix battalions of ſepoys armed in the European manner, a conſiderable train of artillery, ſix thouſand horſe, eight thouſand irregular infantry, and ſome bands of mercenary Siks; ſo that, in point of numbers, his army was formidable, and, with conduct on his part, equal to the conqueſts of the petty chiefs in his route, whom he might chuſe to attack. On his march he ſeized a zemindar, named Daiſſoo Sing, from whom he exacted about two lacks of rupees, and then proceeded towards Puttiala, the reſidence of Amer Sing, ninety coſs north-weſt of Dhely, who had uſurped a conſiderable territory. He was commanded to join the royal army, and pay a compenſation for the revenue of the country; which at firſt he promiſed, and a negotiation was begun to ſettle the ſum; but the wily zemindar was inſincere, and only wanted to gain time, till he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Siks from the province of Lahore, who had promiſed to protect him, as his reduction would have expoſed them to invaſion from the royal army. After ſome days, Amer Sing, joined by many of his allies, threw off the maſk, and the Siks in the ſervice of the miniſter deſerted to him, not chuſing to fight againſt their brethren. Mujd ad Dowlah, inſtead of acting with reſolution, would not try the event of perſiſtance in his demands, but began his retreat towards Panniput; to which place he was followed by Amer Sing and the Siks, who haraſſed his line of march daily, and plundered his baggage, but could make no impreſſion on the main body of his army; a proof that had he acted vigorouſly, a different fate would have attended his expedition.

The emperor, alarmed at the retreat of his miniſter, and dreading the event of the army coming to Dhely and demanding their arrears of pay, wrote preſſingly to Nujeef Khan, imploring his aſſiſtance, and deſiring him to take the adminiſtration of affairs upon himſelf. Nujeef Khan, who had long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity of ruining the miniſter, and had, it is ſaid, privately negotiated with the Siks and Ameer Sing, haſtened to Dhely with his army. Mujd ad Dowlah, upon his arrival at the capital, was diſgraced and committed to the cuſtody of his rival, who confiſcated the greateſt part of his effects, a ſhare of which he gave up to the emperor.

From this period till the death of Nujeef Khan, Shaw Aulum remained under his controul, a penſioner on his bounty, without the leaſt power of royalty beyond the granting of empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his miniſter; who ſo abuſed his authority, that the wretched emperor frequently wanted for conveniences, and the women of the haram, and numerous confined perſonages of the blood-royal, often the common neceſſaries of life.

Nujeef Khan was now at the height of his power and ambition; poſſeſſing the ſole authority at Dhely, with the greateſt part of that province, and the very extenſive one of Agra, together with that capital. The raja of Jeypore, and ſeveral other Hindoo princes alſo were his tributaries. Next to the vizier, he was the firſt officer of the empire, being appointed ameer al amra, with the title of [a] Zoolfeccar ad Dowlah. After his arrival at Dhely, he loſt the energy of his former character, and indulged in voluptuouſneſs ſo much, that it injured his conſtitution; which he ſtrove to repair for the gratification of appetite, by ſtimulating confections. Theſe ſoon brought on a complication of diſorders, which put an end to his life on the twenty ſecond of April, 1782, in the forty ninth year of his age.

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[a] Sword of the ſtate.

Nujeef Khan was born in Perſia, of a family ſaid to be related to the Suffewee ſovereigns of that empire; and in his infancy was, with many of his relations, a priſoner to the uſurper Nadir Shaw, who kept all the perſonages, any way allied to the throne, in confinement for his own ſecurity. At the requeſt of Meerza Mhoſun, the brother of Suffder Jung, who was ſent on an embaſſy to Nadir by Mahummud Shaw, after his invaſion of Hindooſtan, Nujeef Khan and a ſiſter much older than himſelf were releaſed. The lady married her deliverer, and Nujeef Khan accompanied her and her huſband to Dhely. He was treated with parental affection by Meerza Mhoſun, and at his death attached himſelf to Mahummud Koollee Khan, his ſon, the governor of Aleabad, who was ſhortly after ſeized and put to death by his firſt couſin, Shujah ad Dowlah, he being jealous of his ambitious views in aſſiſting Shaw Aulum in the invaſion of Bengal, and regarding Aleabad as his right, it having been given only in deputation by his father, the vizier Suffder Jung, to Mahummud Koollee Khan, who had refuſed to ſurrender it to the ſon. Nujeef Khan, upon this event, retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered his ſervices to the navob Meer Cauſim, then at war with the Engliſh, who gave him great encouragement. When Meer Cauſim took refuge with Shujah ad Dowlah, Nujeef Khan, not chuſing to truſt himſelf in the power of the latter, repaired to Bondelcund, and ſerved Gomaun Sing, one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Shujah ad Dowlah, after the battle of Buxar, he offered his ſervices to the Engliſh, repreſenting himſelf as the rightful lord of the province of Aleabad, was received with reſpectful welcome, and even put into poſſeſſion of a part of it; but when peace was concluded with the vizier, the Engliſh, diſcovering the falſehood of his claim, ſet it aſide, and rewarded his attachment with a penſion of two lacks of rupees and ſtrong recommendations to the emperor. The recompenſe was greater than his merits with the Engliſh, as he had kept up a correſpondence with Shujah ad Dowlah, whom he would have joined, had he been ſucceſsful in the battle of Korah. From Aleabad he accompanied Shaw Aulum to Dhely, where the various turns of his fortune have been already related in the preceding pages.

Nujeef Khan poſſeſſed great perſonal courage, and a fortitude and preſence of mind not to be overcome by the greateſt diſtreſs, or the moſt ſudden misfortune. His affability of manners was ſuch, as to charm even hunger to be patient in his ſervice, and overcome the mutinous reſolutions of his troops, often driven to extreme neceſſity for want of regular pay. He was once, after the reduction of a capital fortreſs from the Jauts, (from which his army had hoped to receive the advantage of a liquidation of their long arrears) ſeized upon by the troops, menaced with death, and expoſed bare-headed for a whole day to the ſun, in the hotteſt ſeaſon of Hindooſtan; a moſt ſevere puniſhment. But this, and the apprehenſions of immediate death, did not move the calmneſs of his mind. He ſoothed the moſt moroſe of the mutineers with his eloquence, and diverted them from their purpoſe by his humourous remarks upon his own ſituation and their conduct; till, at length, they were contented with a part of their demands, and continued to ſerve him in hopes of better times. It is ſaid, that no perſon ever went away diſſatisfied from Nujeef Khan, who, if he could not grant a requeſt, would convince the petitioner of his ſorrow at his being obliged to refuſe it. His expenſes always exceeded his income, and this obliged him to mortgage his revenues in aſſignment to the officers of his army for pay; ſo that his country was never completely ſettled under his own controul, but always paſſing from one chief to another, who made his own ſtatement with the farmers. As he never refuſed offers of ſervice from any military adventurers, this evil continually encreaſed, and he did not live long enough after his conqueſts to correct the abuſe by a ſettled form of government, and a reduction of force adequate to his finances. It is probable, had Nujeef Khan been placed at the head of an eſtabliſhed government, he would have been an amiable and great prince; and in the ſituation he filled, his character draws admiration,[a] when his diſadvantages are liberally conſidered.

Upon the death of Nujeef Khan, the illconſtructed fabric of his government ſoon fell to pieces from the diſſentions of his adherents; while Shaw Aulum, as uſual, ſanctified from neceſſity the actions of the ſucceſsful party. Affraſiaub Khan, an adopted ſon of the deceaſed, was firſt appointed ameer al amra, and, at his requeſt, Mujd ad Dowlah releaſed from confinement; but his power did not laſt long. Nujeef Khan's ſiſter, who had great influence with the army, being diſguſted at his behaviour, invited Meerza Shuffee Khan, a near relation of her own, to Dhely, and offered him the infant daughter of her deceaſed brother in marriage; alſo, to procure for him from the emperor the adminiſtration of affairs, and the honours of Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee, who was then on an expedition againſt the Siks to the northward of the capital, readily embraced the Begum's invitation, and repaired to court; which Affraſiaub Khan deſerted on his approach, leaving Mujd ad Dowlah and [b]Nujeef Koollee Khan to oppoſe him. It would appear that Shaw Aulum was unwilling to grant Meerza Shuffee the adminiſtration of affairs,

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[a] Nujeef Khan, in palliating the delays of payment to his troops, was often obliged to make excuſes not conſiſtent with truth. An officer one day told him he had met fifty carriages coming to the camp; and What were their contents? ſaid Nujeef Khan. Lies for your uſe in this campaign, returned the officer. A poor ſupply, indeed, replied Nujeef Khan; they will ſcarce equal the diſburſement of a ſingle day.

[b] Alſo an adopted ſon of Nujeef Khan's.

for he did not admit him to the preſence till he had ſeized the two chiefs above-mentioned, when, unable to refuſe his demands, he appointed him ameer al amra.

Meerza Shuffee having thus forced himſelf into office, treated Shaw Aulum with little reſpect; and the oppreſſed monarch, weary of the indignities daily offered him, made an attempt to free himſelf from his controul, and reſtore Affraſiaub Khan. Monſieur Pawly, who commanded Sumroo's battalions, and Luttafut, a eunuch, at the head of a conſiderable body of ſepoys, with other chiefs, were drawn over from the intereſt of Meerza Shuffee by Mahummud Yacoob Khan, the emperor's confidant. They aſſembled ſuddenly under arms at the palace, where Shaw Aulum putting himſelf at their head, marched towards the reſidence of Meerza Shuffee, intending to ſeize his perſon. The ameer al amra endeavoured to draw out his followers, but they refuſed to act, and he with difficulty made his eſcape from the city. Shaw Aulum, ſatisfied with his expulſion, declined purſuing the fugitive; though his eldeſt ſon, the prince Jehaundar Shaw, repreſented juſtly, that unleſs his perſon and that of the Begum were ſecured, and their wealth ſeized, the royal intentions would be left uncompleted, as Meerza Shuffee would be joined by his troops when recovered from the panic which the ſuddenneſs of this attempt had inſpired. To account for the inaction of the emperor at this criſis, is impoſſible. It can only be ſuppoſed, that he dreaded treachery from the chiefs who had adviſed him to expel the miniſter.

Meerza Shuffee, as had been foretold by the prince, was rejoined by moſt of the troops, and aſſiſted by Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee, a powerful chief of the late Nujeef Khan, returned towards Dhely, reſolved to force the emperor to reſtore him to office.

Monſieur Pawly and Luttafut, upon intelligence of this junction, prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to encamp at Khizzerabad, a ſhort diſtance from Dhely, intending to make a ſtand againſt the enemy; but Meerza Shuffee offering to make conceſſions to his majeſty, a negotiation commenced, and Pawly and Luttafut were invited to a meeting with the rebels, in order to ſettle the terms of their ſubmiſſion to the emperor, but in fact of his to them.

The prince Jehaundar Shaw now again cautioned his father againſt making terms with the rebels; but in vain. In his narrative, given by himſelf to Mr. Haſtings, he ſays; "*I* from loyalty obſerved, that in ſuch quarrels there was no room for peace; that the force with his majeſty was more than equal to cruſh them."

Pawly and Luttafut declined following the advice of the prince, accepted the invitation of Meerza Shuffee Khan, and, upon entering his camp, were taken priſoners. The former was put to death, and the latter puniſhed by the loſs of his eyes. Meerza Shuffee now exacted what demands he pleaſed from Shaw Aulum, who re-appointed him ameer al amra, and, at his recommendation, Mujd ad Dowlah, who had found means to make his peace, was once more reſtored to his office of [b] dewan of the khalſeh.

Soon after this commotion, Meerza Shuffee, leaving Mujd ad Dowlah to act for him with the emperor, marched from Dhely to reſtore order in the province of Agra, and took with him Meerza Soleymaun Shekoh, one of the princes, to add dignity to his operations. Shaw Aulum was left in the poſſeſſion of the lands allotted for the ſupport of his houſehold by the late

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[b] Director of the revenue ſet apart for the ſupport of the houſehold.

Nujeef Khan; ſo that, conſidering the part he had taken againſt his miniſter, that chief did not act ungenerouſly towards him. Affraſiaub Khan, who had marched to take advantage of the deſigns in his favour, politically kept at a diſtance, till convinced of the ſuperiority of Meerza Shuffee; when he joined him, and was left unmoleſted in poſſeſſion of the diſtricts allotted him under the late Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee was not a man calculated to retrieve the diſorder which had occurred in affairs ſince the death of his predeceſſor. He was deſtitute of that addreſs and affability of manner, by which Nujeef Khan had attached to himſelf the officers of his army, each of whom conſidered himſelf as independant. Mahummud Beg Khan Hammadaunee in particular, who had ſo greatly aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing him in power, was diſguſted at the ſuperiority he aſſumed over him, and with his refuſal of ſome additional diſtricts which he demanded. The Begum alſo, ſiſter of Nujeef Khan, was diſpleaſed with him for not allowing her that influence in government which ſhe had enjoyed in the lifetime of her brother. The ſhort period of his adminiſtration paſſed in conſtant quarrels with his officers; and at length Mahummud Beg, who regarded not by what means he forwarded his views, reſolved to remove him by treachery. For this purpoſe, he pretended a wiſh to reconcile their differences, by an amicable adjuſtment, and requeſted an interview, to which Meerza Shuffee Khan aſſented. They met before the fortreſs of Deeg, on the thirtieth of September, 1783, each attended by an army, and Meerza Shuffee was ſtabbed by Iſmaeel Beg, the brother of Mahummud, while he was embracing him. An engagement between the two armies followed, and Mahummud Beg was driven from the field with ſome loſs. Affraſiaub Khan was declared ſucceſſor to the murdered navob, by the ſiſter Begum and the army, and was ſhortly after confirmed by the emperor in the office of ameer al amra and the government of the provinces of Dhely and Agra. Mahummud Beg, however, refuſed to acknowledge his authority, levied troops to oppoſe him, and committed depredations in ſeveral diſtricts. Affraſiaub, finding himſelf unequal to ſupport his power alone, endeavoured to procure the aſſiſtance of his neighbours, the navob vizier and the Engliſh, or the Mharattas. In this unſettled ſtate of affairs, the prince Jehaundar Shaw, in April 1784, made his eſcape from Dhely, and repaired to Lucnow, where Mr. Haſtings had arrived to regulate the concerns between the vizier and the company. His highneſs's object was, to procure a force to free his father the emperor from the controul in which he was kept by Affraſiaub Khan, and to oblige him to allot a portion of the revenues for the ſupport of the royal dignity. He declared, that his eſcape was with the private concurrence of his father, and moſt probably with truth, though publickly Shaw Aulum demanded his being ſent back a priſoner to Dhely, obliged to it through fear of his miniſter. Mr. Haſtings was too generous to obey commands, which, if complied with, would have ſacrificed an unfortunate prince to life impriſonment, if not aſſaſſination. Though reſtricted by his employers from taking an active part in the royal affairs, he hoped, by protecting the prince, to perſuade Affraſiaub to ſhew proper reſpect to the imperial family; and his plan in ſome meaſure ſucceeded. The ameer al amra ſent major Brown, the Engliſh reſident at Dhely, to Lucnow, with offers to comply with any terms the navob vizier and Mr. Haſtings ſhould ſtipulate for the advantage of the emperor; and agreed to act under the prince as miniſter, provided they would ſupport him with ſome troops againſt Mahummud Beg and other refractory chiefs; repreſenting, that if they could not grant that condition, he muſt ſeek an alliance with Sindia, the Mharatta chief, who was ready to enter the country. Mr. Haſtings was unable to furniſh troops, the council of Bengal refuſing to take any active part beyond the frontiers of the vizier; and Affraſiaub, conſequently, made his alliance with Sindia.

Previous to the return of major Brown from Lucnow, Affraſiaub, jealous of Mujd ad Dowlah, whom he had left to manage the affairs of the royal houſehold, confined that miniſter, and prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to march to Agra, by promiſes of giving up that city with the fortreſs to his diſpoſal. The emperor, flattered by the hopes of acquiring more power, or intimidated by the confinement of his old adviſer, Mujd ad Dowlah, left Dhely, and arrived at Agra in October 1784; when the golden keys of the citadel were preſented to him by Affraſiaub, and he had the ſatisfaction of being called King of the World, in the palace of his anceſtor, the renowned Akber; but it was garriſoned by the troops of the miniſter. Mr. Haſtings had by this time departed from Lucnow, and was accompanied by the prince to Banaras, which he choſe for his reſidence, not thinking it ſafe to truſt his perſon with Affraſiaub or Sindia; a recommendation to whom of his intereſts, was now the only ſervice that the Engliſh could afford him beyond their own territories. He had an allowance of [*] five lacks of rupees per annum from the navob vizier, and wiſely reſolved to wait for better times. Shaw Aulum remained in the hands of his miniſter.

On the twenty ſecond of October 1784, Affraſiaub had an interview with his new ally Mahajee Sindia; when it was agreed, that they ſhould jointly attack Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee; but their plans were fruſtrated by an unfortunate event. On Tueſday, the ſecond of November, Affraſiaub Khan was aſſaſſinated by a ſoldier, ſaid to be employed by Zien-al-aub-ad-Dien the brother of the late Meerza Shuffee Khan, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee, who dreaded the power which Sindia's alliance would give to the object of their hatred. This event occaſioned a new revolution in affairs, by transferring the authority of the Moguls to the Mharattas.

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[*] Fifty thouſand pounds. This allowance was given at the earneſt requeſt of Mr. Haſtings.

Sindia, by preſents of ſome money, promiſes of obedience, and a regular allowance for the royal houſehold, prevailed on Shaw Aulum to come to his camp, and beſtow upon the *peſhwa the office of vaqueel muttulluk, or ſole director of the empire, with the deputation of this employment to himſelf. Under this grant, he claimed the command of the army of the unfortunate Affraſiaub, and the governments of Agra and Dhely. As he was at the head of a large body of Mharattas, and the Mogul chiefs could not agree among themſelves in the choice of a ſucceſſor, he eaſily effected his deſigns. The different officers of corps made their own terms with Sindia, pretending to obey the orders of the emperor; and Mahummud Beg alſo acknowledged his authority. Shujah Dil Khan, the father in law of Affraſiaub, gave up the fortreſs of Agra, after a ſhort ſiege, for a jaghire, and aſſurances of a proviſion for the ſon of the deceaſed, his grandſon, an infant, named Khadim Houſſein Khan. Shaw Aulum was now permitted to return to Dhely. Sixty thouſand rupees per month were ſettled by Sindia for his ſupport; but a body of Mharattas was ſtationed with him, to prevent him encouraging any other power; ſo that, in fact, he was only a ſtate priſoner in the hands of Sindia.

Shaw Aulum did not remain long at Dhely, being again requeſted by Sindia to take the field, to ſanction, by his appearance, the capture of Aleeghur, the reſidence of the Begum of

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* Chief miniſter of the Mharatta ſtate.

of Affraſiaub Khan. Jehaungeer Khan, the governor, after ſome time, ſubmitted. By the fall of Aleeghur, the authority of Sindia was eſtabliſhed in all the territories which had belonged to the late ameer al amra, Nujeef Khan. He now demanded tribute from ſeveral rajas, and among them from the raja of Jeypore, towards whoſe country he marched with the emperor. Negotiation and threatenings employed ſeveral months, till the approach of the rainy ſeaſon of 1786, when Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, and Sindia with his army cantoned at Muttra. The acquiſitions of the Mharattas, by their interference with the Moguls, were however more ſplendid than uſeful; the provinces of Dhely and Agra being exhauſted of revenue by the oppreſſions of the late contending chiefs; ſo that Sindia began to find himſelf in a troubleſome ſituation. Long arrears were due to the troops, and his reſources were unequal to his diſburſements.

A. D. 1787. Towards the latter end of the year 1787, a conſiderable body of Mharattas, under Royjee Pateel, who had been ſent to collect a tribute from the raja of Jeypore, being defeated, Sindia marched with his whole army into that country, and advanced within a ſhort diſtance of the capital. The raja, being aſſiſted by the chief of Jodepore and other allies, diſtreſſed his enemy by cutting off his ſupplies; ſo that both Mharattas and Moguls became diſcontented, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee with his followers deſerted to the raja. In this conjuncture, Sindia reſolved to make a puſh, leſt the defection ſhould become general. A ſevere action took place, and Mahummud Beg was ſlain; but the valour and conduct of his brother Iſmaeel Beg reſtored the courage of the troops, which had given way from the loſs of their chief, and victory declared for the Raajepootes. Three days after this event, Sindia was deſerted by the diſciplined battalions of ſepoys, who went over to Iſmaeel

Beg. This misfortune was followed by repeated defeats, which obliged him to retreat with precipitation acroſs the Chumbul, to the neighbourhood of Gualior, and quit for the preſent all offenſive operations; leaving garriſons in the citadel of Agra and fortreſs of Alleghur, in hopes of their holding out till he could obtain reinforcements from Dekkan. Deeg and ſome other places he gave up to the Jaut raja, Runjeet Sing, to whom they originally belonged, that he might keep up an intereſt among the natives of the country.

The evacuation of the provinces of Dhely and Agra by the Mharatta army, occaſioned a ſad change in the royal affairs. Shaw Aulum, the pageant of every ſucceſsful party, marched from Dhely at the invitation of the raja of Jeypore, who advanced within three days' journey of the capital to pay his reſpects; but whether he was unwilling to engage in the adminiſtration of the royal concerns, intimidated by fears of the return of the Mharattas, or reſolved only to act for the preſervation of his own country, he in a ſhort time obtained his diſmiſſion, and withdrew to his own territories. Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, where he hoped to remain ſecure, and unengaged with party, till Sindia's return with a reinforcement, or a decided ſuperiority of his enemies. Unhappy indeed was his ſituation, and hard the part he had to act. In the hands of a Mharatta garriſon in his capital, and depending for ſupport on Sindia, he was obliged, at the ſame time, to lend his name to his enemy Iſmaeel Beg; who, after defeating the Mharattas in the field, had taken ſeveral places from them, and laid ſiege to Agra, under pretence of the imperial orders.

At this criſis ſtarted up a new adventurer, the moſt fatal one of any to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. [*] Gholaum Kaudir Khan,

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[*] This chief was ſon and ſucceſſor to Zabtah Khan, often mentioned in the preceding pages.

Khan, a Rohilla chief, hoping to acquire power in the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, marched ſuddenly from his reſidence of Ghoſeghur, and appeared before Dhely, which the Mharatta garriſon evacuated on his approach. He obliged the emperor to confer on him the dignity of ameer al amra; after which he moved to lay ſiege to the fortreſs of Aleeghur, where Sindia had left a garriſon.

The prince Jehaundar Shaw, who had reſided ſince the year 1784 at Banaras, under the Engliſh protection, was at this time alſo reſolved to try his fortune in the troubles. He marched to Dhely, and was joined on his route by ſome thouſands of adventurers. On his arrival at the capital he was received with much favour by his father, who empowered him to direct the operations of Gholaum Kaudir Khan; and the prince, after obtaining the releaſe of his women and children, who had been confined ſince his flight, repaired to the ſiege of Aleeghur. He was ſoon diſguſted with the brutal diſreſpect of the Rohilla, and repaired to Agra, in hopes of finding a better ſervant in Iſmaeel Beg, but was diſappointed. The money he had brought with him from Banaras being exhauſted, his followers became clamorous for pay, and the unhappy prince at length was obliged to divide among them his effects. Not chuſing to return to Dhely, leſt the influence of his brother Akber Shaw, the favourite ſon of Shaw Aulum, ſhould prevail on his father to confine him in his unprotected ſtate, he threw himſelf again on the generoſity of the Engliſh. They again received him, and he repaired once more to Banaras, but did not long ſurvive his return. About a week after his arrival he was ſeized with a putrid fever, occaſioned by expoſing himſelf for ſome hours to a burning ſun in a viſit of devotion to the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan ſaint at Chunar, and died on the thirty firſt of May, 1788, after an illneſs of little more than twenty four hours. He was buried with every honour due to his rank; the Engliſh reſident and principal people of the city attending his funeral. He left behind him three ſons, whom, with the reſt of his family, he recommended to the care of the Engliſh, under whom they enjoy a comfortable aſylum and allowance at Banaras.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on the fall of Aleeghur, marched to join Iſmaeel Beg in the ſiege of Agra; but they ſoon diſagreeing, he left him to make conqueſts for himſelf in other parts of the country. By this time Sindia had received ſome ſuccours from Dekkan, and diſpatched his confidential miniſter, Rana Khan, with the Jaut rajah, Runjeet Sing, to raiſe the ſiege of Agra, near which a bloody battle was fought on the ſixteenth of June, 1788, in which Iſmaeel Beg was compleatly defeated, with the loſs of all his cannon, baggage, and ſtores. He made his eſcape with much difficulty, by ſwimming his horſe acroſs the Jumna, and reached the camp of Gholaum Kaudir Khan; but, not finding a kind reception, in a few days he retired to Shekohabad, where he was reſpectfully treated by Illummaſs Alee Khan, a collector of the navob vizier, who preſented him with the ſum of [*] twenty thouſand rupees. Being here joined by about fifteen hundred of his routed cavalry, and receiving letters from Gholaum Kaudir Khan, aſſuring him of future friendſhip, and apologizing for his late neglect, he repaired to his camp. The rajas of Jeypore and Jodepore, whoſe intereſt it was to keep up an enemy to the Mharattas, now ſent him a ſum of money, which enabled him to receive numbers of his followers, who returned to his ſtandard. An invitation was ſent him by the navob Nazir, and the few chiefs with Shaw Aulum to march to Dhely, which he accepted of; but, on his arrival near the city, the emperor, who wiſhed to avoid offending Sindia by re-

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[*] Two thouſand pounds.

ceiving his enemy, refuſed to admit him, and ſent him orders to retire. Iſmaeel Beg pretended to obey, but did not move, waiting the arrival of Gholaum Kaudir Khan, who was on his march to the capital, with the intention of forcing Shaw Aulum to give up his connection with the Mharattas. To this he was inſtigated by the navob Nazir and other officers, who, having offended Sindia, dreaded his diſpleaſure, ſhould the emperor fall again into his hands. The ſupineneſs of the Mharattas after their defeat of Iſmaeel Beg, is not to be accounted for. Inſtead of marching immediately to Dhely, Sindia only advanced to Muttra; ſo that the unfortunate Shaw Aulum was left expoſed to the treachery of his ſervants, and, in the end, to dethronement, plunder, and loſs of ſight.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on his arrival oppoſite Dhely, requeſted the emperor to admit him into the city, but was refuſed; upon which he reſolved to enter it by force; and, having brought over Iſmaeel Beg to his views, croſſed the Jumna in the night, with a part of his army. Raja Himmut Bahadur, and the few Mharattas in the place, fled immediately, and the Mogul chiefs, with their followers in the emperor's ſervice, joined Iſmaeel Beg; ſo that the unhappy Shaw Aulum, unable to reſiſt, was obliged to open the gates of the citadel, and receive the rebels. They were introduced by the navob Nazir, who anſwered for their fidelity to his majeſty, and that they would free him from the controul of the Mharattas, and the diſgrace of depending for a ſupport on infidels and natural enemies to the faithful. Gholaum Kaudir and Iſmaeel Beg, falling at the emperor's feet, aſſured him, their only object was his honour, and the expulſion of the Mharattas; which they promiſed to effect, if one of the princes was permitted to accompany them to the field. A treaty was then drawn up, and ſolemnly ratified by oaths in one of the moſques in the palace, by which it was ſtipulated, that Shaw Aulum ſhould receive a third part of the revenues for the ſupport of his dignity. The emperor then committed his ſon Soleymaun Shekkoh to their care, and a day was fixed for his march againſt the Mharattas; but this adjuſtment was deceitful. In a few days, Gholaum Kaudir demanded a large ſum of money to pay the troops, which Shew Aulum refuſed; and the Rohilla reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of whatever treaſure might be in the palace, by dethroning the emperor. To this reſolve he was excited by the treacherous navob [*] Nazir, who, forgetting thirty years of confidence and favour, had informed him that his maſter poſſeſſed hoards of treaſure and jewels, though he pretended inability to ſatisfy the troops.

The degraded and wretched ſituation of the once auguſt family of Timur, will appear more fully, in the tranſlation of a journal of the monſtrous tranſactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir, from the dethronement of Shaw Aulum, to the flight from the city of that cruel traitor.

A.D. 17

JOURNAL, JULY 26th.

About ſeven in the morning, Meerza Iſmaeel Beg with his officers and Meerza Muttullub Khan, repaired to Gholaum Kaudir, who was ſeated in the hall of private audience; and, after ſome converſation, ſent repeated demands of money from the emperor, through the navob Nazir. Meerza Muttullub obſerved, that had his majeſty poſſeſſed ſuch a conſiderable ſum, his affairs would not have fallen into ſuch extremity. He was commanded to be ſilent by Gholaum Kaudir; who, at length ſent two attendants to bring Bedar Bukht, ſon of the emperor Ahmed Shaw. This prince being conducted into the oratory, was ſeated on the throne, and the cuſtomary ſalutations of royalty made to him by the chiefs. Gholaum Kaudir then diſpatched Shaw Aulum, with nineteen princes;

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[*] The Nazir is the ſuperintendant of the private apartments, always a eunuch.

princes, his ſons and grandſons, under a guard to the apartment called Noor Mahal. After this a diſpute aroſe between Gholaum Kaudir and Iſmaeel Beg, concerning the latter's remaining in the palace; and Iſmaeel Beg at length departed in wrath to his camp.

Saturday, July 27th, 1788. Bedar Shaw received the compliments of the officers, and ordered ſeveral of the depoſed emperor's ſervants into confinement. Soleymaun Shekkoh was brought from the camp, and impriſoned with his father, who was this day denied even water by Gholaum Kaudir. The miniſters of the general moſque requeſted to know in the name of what emperor the prayers were to be read; and the Rohilla anſwered, "In the name of "God and his prophet." He this day ſent for the aged princeſſes, *Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, from their houſe in the city. On their arrival in the palace, he paid his reſpects, and told them the private apartments of the haram ſhould be under their direction. They approved of his conduct, but warned him not to act in ſuch a manner as to draw the ſcorn of mankind. He replied, that, under the royal auſpices, the empire would be properly regulated. The ladies of Shaw Aulum's family repreſented, that for two days they had been without food. He ordered them victuals.

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* Theſe ladies were the widows of Mahummud Shaw, and the former was daughter to the emperor Ferokhſere. When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee invaded Hindooſtan, they accompanied him on his return to his own territories, and reſided in his court till his death; when they came back to Dhely, and were allowed by Shaw Aulum to reſide out of the palace in the city. It is ſuppoſed they poſſeſſed great wealth; as both Nadir Shaw and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee in their invaſions paid them reſpect, and left their property unmoleſted; but it now fell into the hands of Gholaum Kaudir. It is ſaid, they prompted him to depoſe Shaw Aulum, by an offer of ten lacks of rupees, to place on the throne Bedar Shaw, the grandſon of their huſband, by a public dancer. If this report is true, their misfortunes are leſs pitiable, as Shaw Aulum had always treated them with attention and reſpect during his whole reign.

July 28th. This day, the princeſs Mallekeh Zummaneh, aſſiſted by the navob Nazir, ſearched the apartments of fourteen of Shaw Aulum's women, and ordered all their money and effects to be collected in the oratory; after which they delivered them to Gholaum Kaudir Khan. The effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were confiſcated. Bedar Shaw conferred the rank of ameer al amra on Gholaum Kaudir Khan. Information was lodged, that Meerza Mindoo had privately conveyed fourteen cakes of bread and ſome water to Shaw Aulum. The mercileſs Rohilla ordered the benevolent prince to be beaten with clubs; but the attendants refuſed obedience. Mallekeh Zummaneh ſent to Shaw Aulum, deſiring him to give up his buried treaſures, and he ſhould be reinſtated on his throne. He replied, he was weary of ſuch empire. Agga Sundal complained to Bedar Shaw of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the depoſed ſovereign and his family, periſhing with hunger. The Shaw gave him five rupees. The Agga obſerved, the ſum was inſufficient for ſuch a number, even for a meal. Bedar aſſured him he had no more money in his poſſeſſion.

July 29th. To-day, a quarrel occurred between Bedar Shaw and the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, who threatened to leave the palace; obſerving, that they had ſeen four reigns, and been independant of all; had come from their houſes to ſerve his family, but would return, and commit him wholly to the pleaſure of Gholaum Kaudir. This ſilenced the Shaw. Bedar this day ſent to Soleymaun Shekkoh and Akber Shaw, aſſuring them they ſhould not want while he could relieve them, but that they muſt be reconciled to the decrees of providence, and conſider, that their father had reigned thirty years, while his ſuffered the diſtreſs they now complained of. Gholaum Kaudir Khan, having prepared five whips, obliged the ſultan to take one in his hand, and accompany him to [illegible] a confeſſion of his treaſures from Shaw Aulum.

July 30th. This day, the apartments of Shawabadee Begum were ſearched, and a caſket of jewels, ſome ſtrings of pearls and gold and ſilver plate, being found, were delivered to Gholaum Kaudir, who alſo ſeized ninety nine horſes from the royal ſtables. Ninety thouſand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, beſides ſome plate. The Rohilla ſent the latter to the mint, and commanded coins to be ſtruck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inſcription:

> "The ſupporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar
> "Shaw, by the grace of God ſtamped coins throughout the
> "world."

To-day, five rupees, a bed, and a carpet, were ſent by Gholaum Kaudir to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. Several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips to force a diſcovery of their effects; and the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. Except the garments they had on, every thing was ſeized.

July 31ſt. Gholaum Kaudir agreed to give Iſmaeel Beg five lacks of rupees from the plunder of the palace. Several of the confined princes were inſulted by blows; and ſeven bankers and corn-merchants ſeized and impriſoned to extort money from them.

Auguſt 1ſt, 1788. The navob Nazir and the eunuchs repreſented to the emperor, that they had by ſevere chaſtiſement extorted a diſcovery from ſome of the ladies of the haram of a quantity of gold and ſilver plate, with ſome jewels. He ordered them to be ſent to Gholaum Kaudir. Meerza Buddoo, an ancient prince, uncle

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to Shaw Aulum, was ſeized by the Rohilla, and a demand made of a lack of rupees. Pleading inability, he was delivered to the peons to be flogged. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir went to Shaw Aulum, and threatened him. The unhappy prince replied, "What I had, you have taken; but, if you think I "conceal ſome treaſures within me, rip up my bowels, and "be convinced." The traitor then aſſured him, if he would diſcover his hoards, he ſhould reaſcend his throne. Shaw Aulum anſwered, "I have no ambition left; may God protect you, who have laid me aſide: I am content with my "fate." The Rohilla then proceeded to the apartments of the brothers of Shaw Aulum, and threatened them with puniſhment. Four trunks of wearing apparel, a few trifling jewels, and a ſilver bedſtead only, were found in them on the ſtricteſt ſearch. The nawob Nazir repents now too late, of his conduct; and will have more cauſe every day. Iſmaeel Beg is treating with Sindia, who has promiſed to give him a jaghire and command in his army.

August 2d. To-day, perſons were ſent to dig up the floors of the apartments of Meerza Buddoo. Some jewels, plate, and wearing apparel, were found. The prince and his family were ordered to be kept without food; but at the earneſt interceſſion of Meerza Hinga, uncle to Bedar Shaw, it was allowed them. Gholaum Kaudir to-day roughly demanded from the emperor the whole ſum he had promiſed for his throne. Bedar Shaw ſaid, "He had given every thing as yet diſcovered, and deſired the "jewels might be valued." The Rohilla replied, "Jewels "were to him of no value; he muſt have money, or plate "to coin." A meſſage coming from the princeſs Mallekeh Zummaneh, that ſhe wiſhed to ſee him, he would not go, but abuſed her to the eunuchs who brought the compliment. Bedar Shaw entreated him to be pacified, and every exertion ſhould be uſed to procure money. The ſultan would have embraced him, but the wretch drew back, and retired in diſpleaſure; after which he ſent a band of Afghauns to guard the royal perſon and extort money. They threatened to pull Bedar Shaw from his throne, and correct him with blows; upon which he exclaimed, "If this is empire, the ſcanty meal I enjoyed when "among the confined princes, was ſweet indeed." The Afghauns ordered him to be ſilent, ſaying, "They had ruined "Shaw Aulum in an inſtant, and what was he better than "him." Guards were alſo placed over the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal; and Gholaum Kaudir informed them, "that as the world would now at any rate call him "traitor, he was reſolved to ſeize the whole property of the "royal family." The navob Nazir trembles for his ſafety, and has diſcharged his attendants. Seven lacks of rupees are demanded from him.

Auguſt 3d. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir Khan *ſeated himſelf in the preſence of Bedar Shaw, and ſmoaked his hookah before him; ſtretching out his feet on the royal muſnud, at the ſame time inſulting him by abuſive language.

Auguſt 4th. Bedar Shaw ſent a note by the Nazir to Gholaum Kaudir, requeſting him to have the jewels valued, but he refuſed; demanding ſix lacks in money, and would not ſuffer the Nazir to return. The emperor ſending him two garlands of flowers, he threw them on the ground in diſreſpect. The Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal have diſcharged their houſeholds. Ruttun Ram adviſing Bedar Shaw to ſend a khelaut to the navob vizier, he ſaid, "I have none but this old "garment on my body."

Gholaum

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* The higheſt diſrepect he could be guilty of to the ſovereign.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan to-day forced the doors of the royal baths; and finding two ſilver chairs, ſent them to the mint. The apartments and effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were ranſacked. Thirty two elephants and one hundred horſes from the royal ſtables were ſent to the Rohilla camp. A requeſt of Shaw Aulum for ſome foot cloths was complied with. August 5th.

The thrones and other ſeats belonging to Shaw Aulum, ornamented with gold or ſilver, were broken to pieces, and the plate ſent to the mint. Gholaum Kaudir ſeized the clothes and ornaments of fifty or ſixty dancing girls belonging to the palace. On their complaining of his oppreſſion, he commanded them to ſing and dance, and being pleaſed with their performance, gave them back their clothes, but kept their jewels, and turned them out of the citadel. After this, he went to the apartments of the prince Meerza Baber, which were ranſacked; and ſent a woman to ſearch the haram. When every thing was ſeized, the prince and the ladies were ordered to be put with the reſt of the royal family in confinement. The dwelling of Meerza Khoord, brother to Shaw Aulum, was next plundered. The chief woman ſervant of Kirrammut al Niſſa Begum was ſeized, and ſeverely beaten, to make her diſcover the effects of her miſtreſs; but ſhe would not confeſs, and was put into priſon. The floors of the Begum's apartments were then dug up, and ſome gold ornaments found. Gholaum Kaudir to-day threatened Bedar Shaw with puniſhment, if he would not ſpeedily ſupply him with money, as the troops were becoming clamorous for pay. He then went to Shaw Aulum, and demanded a diſcovery of the money he had ſaved from the revenues of Bengal and Aleabad. The Shaw replied, "that what was in "the palace was ſeized; he had no more; and begged to be "put to death, that he might be freed from miſery." The Rohilla replied, "he would not hurt him, but force a con- August 6th.

LIBRARY

“ ſeſſion from his ſons Meerza Akber and Soleymaun Shekkoh.” Upon which Shaw Aulum ſaid, “ I am in your hands, but “ injure not my children.” Gholaum Kaudir threatened the princes, who declared they knew nothing of their father's treaſury; but informed him, that there was a Caſhmirian woman in the ſervice of Koottubee Begum, who, if money was concealed, was informed of it. Upon this the woman was ſent for and queſtioned, but confeſſed nothing; when ſhe was confined for further examination. Bedar Shaw to-day gave Gholaum Kaudir a pair of gold bracelets and twenty five thouſand rupees, which had been diſcovered, with which he was well pleaſed, and ſent to the Shaw five trays of apparel from the wardrobe, and five ſilver plates. Bedar Shaw deſired he would carry him to the general moſque to pay his devotions; but the Rohilla told him not to be in haſte, and he ſhould go at a convenient time in proper ſtate. The diſſention with Iſmaeel Beg encreaſes daily, and that chief is treating with the Mharattas; but, till their arrival, waits to get what he can from the plunder of the palace. The furniture of the royal elephants was ſeized to-day.

Auguſt 7th. Bedar Shaw ſent a meſſage to Gholaum Kaudir, “ that he “ had, to gratify him, though unbecoming his dignity as a “ prince, aſſiſted in rifling the palace, and ſurrendered the trea- “ ſure diſcovered. Nothing more was left, but he was ready “ to accompany him to the field, and acquire wealth for him “ with the ſword.” Gholaum Kaudir viſited Shaw Aulum, and told him, “ he was ſorry for his treaſons, but would make “ amends by ſeating his ſon Meerza Akber on the throne.” Shaw Aulum replied, “ he might act as he pleaſed; but as for “ himſelf, he was weary of ſuch degraded empire, and only “ wiſhed to be retired, and employ himſelf in devotion.” Bedar Shaw was ſeverely threatened this day with correction, if he did not procure more money; upon which he replied, “ that he had “ given all in his power, and ſhould be happy to be releaſed “ from ſuch mock royalty.”

August 8th. Bedar Shaw was again threatened with correction and confinement, in caſe he did not produce more money or jewels; and again replied, “ that Gholaum Kaudir might act as he pleaſed.”

August 9th. In the apartments of Mubaric Mhal, upwards of an hundred women were ſearched, and afterwards impriſoned. Mallekeh Zummaneh was this day violently indiſpoſed. Bedar Shaw declared to Gholaum Kaudir, “ that there were no more valuables left in the palace; but if he choſe, he would attend “ him to collect money from the rajas and zemindars.” The Rohilla anſwered, “ that if money was not brought him on “ the morrow, the Shaw muſt take the conſequence.” Twenty cheſts of lace and tiſſues were this day burned by Gholaum Kaudir, to extract the ſilver. Bedar Shaw requeſted an interview, but was rudely refuſed in the evening. A meeting took place between Gholaum Kaudir and Iſmaeel Beg Khan. The navob Nazir was threatened with flagellation if he did not produce money.

Aug. 10th. Gholaum Kaudir, attended by five Rohillas, went to Shaw Aulum and demanded a diſcovery of his hidden treaſure. The unfortunate Shaw replied, “ I have none; take what you can find in the fort.” The villain then ordered his attendants to lift up the princes Meerza Soleymaun, Akber Shaw and others, and daſh them on the ground; which they did. Shaw Aulam in the agony of his grief exclaimed, “ Traitor, forbear ſuch cruelty on my children “ in my ſight.” Upon this, Gholaum Kaudir made the Rohillas caſt him on the ground; after which they ſat upon his breaſt, and ſtabbed out his eyes with a dagger. He then gave orders for the like cruelty to be inflicted on the princes; but was prevented by the entreaties of an officer, named Seetuldaſs. The palace reſounded with lamentations among the ladies of the haram. They were commanded to be ſilent, on pain of chaſtiſement. In the afternoon, Bedar Shaw was carried into the city, attended by the Rohilla; but the latter, ſuſpecting treachery from Iſmaeel Beg, returned ſuddenly with the Shaw to the palace. The inhabitants deſert the city in crowds. The bankers' and jewellers' ſhops have been ſhut up many days.

Aug. 10th. Two ſurgeons were ſent to attend Shaw Aulum, who lies in great agony of pain. Some money and effects were ſent by Gholaum Kaudir to Iſmaeel Beg, who is much diſſatisfied. A meeting afterwards took place between them, and they viſited Bedar Shaw in company.

Aug. 11th. Shaw Aulum petitioned for ſome relief, as his family had been three days without proviſions. Gholaum Kaudir ordered *twenty eight rupees per day to be diſtributed for their ſupport.

Aug. 12th. Gholaum Kaudir Khan ordered an eſcort to conduct the plunder of the palace to Ghoſeghur. The cooking utenſils of the royal kitchens were ſeized this day.

Aug. 13th. The emperor Bedar Shaw deſired the navob Nazir to prepare a moſque in the palace for his devotions; but was informed, that the carpeting, &c. had been ſeized. Upon his importunity, however, ſome ſort of preparation was made; and Bedar heard, for the firſt time, the prayer read in his own name as emperor. Two infant ſons of the prince Soleymaun Shekkoh to-day died for want of food. Shaw Aulum diſmiſſed his

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* About two pounds twelve ſhillings.

his phyſicians, and declined nouriſhment, ſaying, "it was more "preferable to die, than live, and behold his family periſhing "around him." Bedar ordered the children to be buried in the Mhal. He ſaid, "that Shaw Aulum complained unjuſtly, "and ſhould be reſigned to the decrees of providence." Gholaum Kaudir paid his devotions at the tomb of Nizam ad Dien, where he was met by Iſmaeel Beg, and mutual oaths of reconciliation paſſed between them.

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The ladies from ſeveral apartments of the haram were turned out into [1] Sulleemghur, and Bedar Shaw was commanded by Gholaum Kaudir to dig up the floors in ſearch of treaſure. Parties of Mharatta horſe to-day appeared cloſe to the city. Shaw Aulum is in great agony, what he eats voiding by the noſe. Aug. 14th.

The Rohillas mutinied, and Gholaum Kaudir was obliged to remain cloſe in the citadel. Meerza Iſmaeel Beg confined ſeveral inhabitants of the city to extort money from them. Aug. 15th.

Bedar Shaw deſired Gholaum Kaudir to think of preparing to reſiſt the Mharattas, who were now plundering round the city, and carrying off the cattle and grain. Many angry meſſages paſſed between Gholaum Kaudir and Iſmaeel Beg, concerning the diviſion of plunder. At length, the former went to viſit the latter in the evening to try an accommodation. Two diamonds, which had been given from the plunder of Shaw Aug. 16th.

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[1] Sulleemghur, or Selimghur, is part of the old palace erected by the emperor Jehaungeer, whoſe name was alſo Sulleem, or Selim. Since the completion of the new palace by Shaw Jehaun, Sulleemghur has been uſed as a priſon for the princes of the royal family. It is large, has ſeveral courts, and gardens for their recreation. Till the reigning emperor became himſelf in want, they were allowed every convenience of life, but liberty; and as they were moſtly born and bred up in confinement, perhaps did not much feel the want of it.

Shaw Aulum to Bedar Shaw, were this day taken from him by the Rohilla.

Aug. 17th. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir and Iſmaeel Beg viſited Bedar Shaw, and demanded money, that they might pay the troops, and attend him to the field. The Shaw replied, "that he had "none; but would conſign over to them the nawob Nazir, "from whom they might extort it." A convoy of baggage, &c. from Ghoſeghur was intercepted by the Mharattas, and many Rohillas cut to pieces. Numbers were drowned in the Jumna in trying to eſcape from the enemy by fording it. The Mharattas appeared on the bank of the Jumna oppoſite the citadel. Bedar Shaw deſired Gholaum Kaudir to march, offering to accompany him.

Aug. 18th. The Mharattas continued their approaches, all ſupplies were ſtopped from the city, and the ſhops ſhut up. Part of the Rohilla army croſſed the river, unoppoſed by the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir went into the apartments of the confined princes, and ordered the property of Khier al Niſſa Begum, ſiſter of Shaw Aulum, to be ſeized. Her money, ornaments, and even the garments ſhe had on, were taken. Several princes were brought before him, whom he addreſſed, ſaying, "You aſpired "to empire, give me your treaſures for it." In reply, they wept, and ſaid, "You have taken all we had; there is nothing "remaining but our lives." He then cauſed them to be beaten with whips, and ſent them back to confinement. A demand was made on the Begums Mallekeh Zumaneh and Sahebeh Mhal for five lacks of rupees.

Aug. 19th. The effects of the two Begums above-mentioned were this day ſeized, guards placed on their houſes, and their attendants ſent priſoners to the citadel. A letter was preſented from Shaw

Aulum requeſting relief, as he and his family were periſhing with hunger. Gholaum Kaudir threw the letter on the ground, and exclaimed, " I came not here of my own will; but, as " I ſlept in a garden at Secundra, ſuddenly an apparition " ſtruck me on the face, ſaying, March ſpeedily to Dhely, de-" poſe the emperor, and ſeize the country." Meerza Meendo, uncle of Shaw Aulum, was to-day ſo ſeverely flogged by orders of the Rohilla, as to faint away, and at length diſcovered a chamber, under the floor of which were ſecreted ſome large cheſts, two of which were filled with gold coin, and others with rich cloths. The contents of this hoard were unknown to Shaw Aulum, and had been depoſited there by Shaw Begum in the laſt reign.

A guard was placed over the navob Nazir, and his effects ſeized. Aug. 20th. He was alſo commanded to diſcover the hidden treaſures of Shaw Aulum, on pain of puniſhment. Bedar Shaw ſent a requeſt to Gholaum Kaudir for the releaſe of Meerza Buddoo; but the meſſenger returned without delivering it, the navob being in a violent rage, which made him fearful of going into his preſence. About nine at night, the Shaw ventured to ſend again, begging that he would, for pity's ſake, allow ſome victuals for the women; upon which he ſent a ſmall quantity of oil and flour. Many ladies of the haram were ſearched to-day, and Rohilla ſoldiers placed at their apartments. Gholaum Kaudir came into the oratory, and had much converſation with the emperor and the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal; when it was agreed, that the ladies belonging to Bedar Shaw ſhould be removed from the haram, and a ſtrict ſearch be made for treaſure in every room. Shaw Aulum was ſent for, and ordered to diſcover his hoards. He replied, " that he " knew of none, and begged for compaſſion on his miſeries, "and his family dying with hunger." The Rohilla told him, "he ſhould yet have more calamities to ſuffer."

Aug. 21ſt. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir ordered Mallekeh Zummaneh and Saheby Mhal from their chambers into the apartments of Akber Shaw, and alſo the Begum of Bedar Shaw. Upon this Bedar Shaw went to him to complain of his inſulted honour; when the Rohilla turning him back, told him to go and keep them company; when he retired to them accordingly. Four ladies died of grief and hunger this day. Their bodies were thrown into the open court, while Gholaum Kaudir was ſurveying the labourers, who, by his orders, were buſied in digging up the floors of the haram. He to-day commanded ſome of the princes to ſing for him, and one of his attendants entreating him not to be ſo diſreſpectful, he exclaimed, "If they "cannot ſing, what elſe are they fit for? They are the off-"ſpring of ſingers. Had they been princes, would they have "tamely ſuffered me to act as I have done?"

Aug. 22d. Bedar Shaw came to Gholaum Kaudir, and requeſted him, from regard to God and the prophet, to allow ſome proviſion for his women and children; when the Rohilla frowned ſternly upon him, and uttered much abuſive language. The Shaw with the Begums are now confined in the octagon turret, ſurrounded only by ſkreens. Gholaum Kaudir ſent for Akber Shaw and other princes to ſing and play before him, which they dared not refuſe. After the performance, he expreſſed his approbation, and ſaid, "Shaw Aulum and his family ſhould no longer "be diſtreſſed for neceſſaries and food."

Aug. 23d. The houſe of the navob Nazir was ſearched, but nothing of much value diſcovered. The Rohilla chiefs grow clamorous for money. Gholaum Kaudir pretends he has none, and is dividing among them the effects of the palace.

Aug. 24th. A daughter of the prince Meerza Toghrul died of hunger, and was buried in her chamber. Meerza Iſmaeel Beg ſent to enquire of Gholaum Kaudir if he meant to march, as the enemy were now ſurrounding him. Gholaum Kaudir excuſed himſelf for his behaviour to the navob Nazir, by declaring, that he had ſeized his property, only leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that he was his adviſer in the plunder of Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal. Parties of the Mharattas appeared to-day cloſe to the old citadel, and carried off ſome horſes and bullocks. Munniar Sing, who commanded the palace guard, having allowed ſome proviſions to paſs to Shaw Aulum and the other confined princes, was rebuked ſeverely by Gholaum Kaudir.

Aug. 25th. Meerza Iſmaeel Beg threatened Gholaum Kaudir, that if he would not deliver up his ſhare of the plunder, he would leave him; and the Mogul chiefs alſo declared, if he remained longer in the citadel, they would quit his ſervice. Gholaum Kaudir made no anſwer. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal ſent a petition that they might not be left to periſh with hunger, but rather, be relieved from their miſeries by immediate death. Bedar Shaw threatened to put on a *religious habit; but was told by the Rohilla, that he muſt prepare to march. He replied, that he would not move.

Aug. 26th. Bedar Shaw requeſted of Gholaum Kaudir to dethrone him, as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the moſt common neceſſaries of life. Gholaum

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* In Hindooſtan, for a perſon under the protection of another to aſſume the habit of a fakeer, or religious, is reckoned diſgraceful to the party promiſing protection, and believed to bring down the curſes of heaven upon him.

Kaudir ſeized all the horſes of the royal ſtables, and diſtributed them among his followers, leaving only fifteen, of little value, for the Shaw's uſe. Six ladies of the haram died of hunger, and their bodies were thrown over the walls of the citadel, on the ſands of the Jumna. On its being reported, that many others were in a dying ſtate, from the ſame cauſe, Gholaum Kaudir ſent a ſmall ſupply for the women of Bedar Shaw, but took no notice of the reſt.

Aug. 27th. Four ladies of Shaw Aulum's haram, weary of life, threw themſelves from a window into the river, and were drowned. Their bodies were ſtripped by ſome ſoldiers, one of whom was wounded in a ſcuffle for the diviſion of the garments. The unfortunate Shaw Aulum, almoſt famiſhed, ſent a ſmall ſilver bow ring, by a ſoldier who pitied his condition, into the market for ſale. It produced only [a] ſeven pice, with which ſome coarſe bread was purchaſed for his meal. A conſiderable ſum of money, many valuable jewels and rich effects, were found in the houſe of Sahebeh Mhal, and ſeized by Gholaum Kaudir.

Aug. 28th. Some proviſions and apparel were allowed to Shaw Aulum and his family. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal entreated, but in vain, to be allowed to retire to their houſes in the city. Gholaum Kaudir refuſed to viſit Bedar Shaw, though repeatedly ſent for. The navob Nazir was releaſed from his confinement. The ſhops in the city are ſhut up, owing to the riotous behaviour of the Rohillas from the dearneſs of grain, the Mharattas preventing all ſupplies from the country.

Aug. 29th. Gholaum Kaudir, in a frolic of intoxication, ſent for Akber Shaw and ſeveral other princes, ſons of Shaw Aulum, to the lion baſtion, where he entertained them with a feaſt and dancing.

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[a] About ſixpence.

cing. After ſome time, laying his head on the knees of Akber Shaw, he ſlept for two hours. On awaking, he wept, ſaying, "he had been guilty of great crimes, and repented of "his behaviour; that he would reſtore all the property he "had taken, but could not replace the eyes of Shaw Aulum." Akber Shaw, after ſome conſideration, obſerved, that "the providence which had given eyes to his father, had alſo taken "them away; and the inſtrument of heaven was not to blame." They ſat at the entertainment until ſunriſe.

Bedar Shaw went to viſit Gholaum Kaudir, who would not ſee him, and ordered him to retire to his apartments. The women of the haram are in the greateſt diſtreſs for want of victuals. Aug. 30th.

Bedar Shaw, by meſſage, entreated Gholaum Kaudir to order ſome relief to the confined princes and ladies of the haram; but was anſwered with angry refuſals. Gholaum Kaudir, in paſſing by the Mhal, was accoſted with loud complaints from the unfortunate women, who begged him to allow them food, or let them leave the citadel; but he paſſed on, ſaying, "that "in four days more he would relieve them." He went to the emperor's bedchamber, and finding a ſcymetar on the bed, took it away; at the ſame time commanding the guards not to let Bedar Shaw come to him on any account. Aug. 31ſt.

The troops of Gholaum Kaudir are mutinous for their arrears. He has ſpent this day in trying to appeaſe them, but in vain. They threaten to deſert him. Sept. 1ſt. 1788.

Gholaum Kaudir went out to the tomb of Hoomaioon to pacify the Rohillas. After much argument, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger, ruſhed towards him, but was ſtopped by his companions. At length, the troops were ſatisfied with the aſſurance of receiving two months pay immediately, and Gholaum Kaudir returned to the palace.

Sept. 3d. News arrived that the zemindars in *Sarungpore were in arms; on which account Gholaum Kaudir has reſolved to march to Ghoſeghur, leaving Iſmaeel Beg Khan in Dhely, to defend it againſt the Mharattas.

Sept. 4th. Gholaum Kaudir is preparing for his march. A new quarrel has ariſen between him and Iſmaeel Beg Khan concerning the diviſion of the plunder.

Sept. 5th. Bedar Shaw requeſted, by meſſage, that Gholaum Kaudir would permit barbers to be admitted to Shaw Aulum and his ſons, who had not been ſhaved ſince the day of his dethronement. It was allowed. Gholaum Kaudir has been the whole day drinking, and liſtening to the ſinging girls.

Sept. 6th. A wife of the deceaſed emperor Ahmed Shaw died in the palace, and Gholaum Kaudir would not permit the body to be carried out for interment, though Bedar Shaw entreated his permiſſion. The Rohilla has been this day conſulting with his officers, concerning his defence againſt the Mharattas.

Sept. 7th. As Gholaum Kaudir was ſitting under a tree this day, a black ſnake fell upon him from one of the branches, but he received no injury. A quantity of gold and jewels was diſcovered in the ceiling of a chamber. Part of the Rohilla army croſſed the river, on which the Mharattas retreated to ſome diſtance.

Bedar

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* The territory inherited by Gholaum Kaudir from his father Zabtah Khan.

Sept. 8th. Bedar Shaw obſerved to his attendants, that his was a ſtrange empire, for he could not even obtain neceſſaries for his family; that he read the koraun nightly, ſlept upon the bare ground, and prayed at midnight, in hopes that God in his mercy would have pity on his ſituation. Gholaum Kaudir reviewed his artillery, and is preparing to march.

Sept. 9th. Gholaum Kaudir continues his preparations to march.

Sept. 10th. Gholaum Kaudir divided the royal tents among his chief followers.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the fourteenth, when Gholaum Kaudir, alarmed at information of Iſmaeel Beg's being in treaty with Sindia to deliver him up to that chief, ſuddenly left the palace, and ſwam the Jumna on an elephant to join the part of his army encamped on the other ſide. In a few days, however, he returned; and going to Shaw Aulum, aſſured him, that though he might reign again if the Mharattas were victorious, he ſhould not enjoy the preſence of his children, as they ſhould be put to death in caſe of his defeat. The ſavage Rohilla then obliged all the ſons of the unfortunate emperor to embark in a boat, and croſs the river to his camp. Akber Shaw making ſome reſiſtance, Gholaum Kaudir drew his ſcymetar, and threatened to kill him if he did not embark, when the prince was obliged to comply. The plunder of the palace was alſo all carried off in boats. The day following, the Rohilla returned to the citadel, and ſeverely beat Shaw Aulum with his own hands, threatening to murder all the princes. He then obliged the aged Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal to go to his camp, in deſpite of their lamentations and entreaties. Then ſetting fire to all the combuſtible parts of the citadel, he evacuated it, with his followers, and repaired to his camp. Upon his departure, a detachment of Mharattas took poſſeſſion of the city and palace. Rana Khan, the chief, releaſed Shaw Aulum from his confinement, and ordered refreſhments for the unfortunate emperor and the numerous perſons in the haram, who, for ſeven days, had been able to procure no ſuſtenance, but dry grain and water. New coins were ordered to be ſtruck in the name of Shaw Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wiſhed to decline the throne in favour of Akber Shaw, whom he had always intended for his ſucceſſor.

Gholaum Kaudir, a few days after his departure from Dhely, diſguſted at ſome behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mharattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made ſovereign, and acknowledged, as emperor, Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his ſon, that on hearing of his exaltation, he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous navob Nazir, aſſuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had ſuſtained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his ſon on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mharatta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refuſed, ſaying, "He could not, while the prince was in fact "only a priſoner, in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan."

Rana Khan having ſettled affairs at Dhely, and being reinforced by navob Alee Bahadur with a conſiderable force from Dekkan, croſſed the Jumna, to oppoſe Gholaum Kaudir Khan. That chief, finding it impoſſible to ſtand againſt ſo powerful an enemy, endeavoured to make his retreat into his own country, but was intercepted. He took refuge in the town of Mhirta, and made propoſals of ſubmiſſion; but the Mharattas would not accept them; and on the twenty firſt of December, 1788, made a general aſſault on the place. Gholaum Kaudir defended himſelf a whole day againſt their attacks; but ſeeing that he muſt in the end be reduced, he in the night mounted a fleet horſe and made his eſcape, leaving his followers to ſhift for themſelves. He had not rode many miles, when his horſe ſtumbled, and Gholaum Kaudir was ſo bruiſed by the fall he received, that he could not move. In this ſituation he was found by ſome villagers, who took him priſoner to the Mharatta camp. He had, previous to his flight, concealed the moſt valuable jewels acquired from the plunder of the palace, in his ſaddle and houſings. To whoſe lot this prize fell, is not known, as the horſe was never found. The navob Nazir, and other chiefs who had remained in Mhirta, were in the morning obliged to ſurrender with the troops at the diſcretion of the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir was at firſt treated with diſtinction; but ſoon put into heavy irons, with his companion in treachery, the navob Nazir. Akber Shaw and the other ſons of Shaw Aulum, with the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, alſo the depoſed Bedar Shaw, were reſpectfully treated by Rana Khan, who ſent them to Dhely, with a proper eſcort for their protection. Bedar Shaw was remanded to impriſonment.

The Mharattas poſſeſſed themſelves of Ghoſeghur, and the territories of Gholaum Kaudir Khan. They are now without a rival in the direction of the emperor, and likely to remain ſo, as long as their own ſtate ſhall remain free from internal commotions, and the neutrality of the Engliſh and the navob vizier, with reſpect to the imperial affairs, be obſerved.

While a prince of the houſe of Timur is eſteemed as a neceſſary pageant for the veneration of the people, we ſhall continue to hear of an emperor of Hindooſtan; but it is very improbable that any future poſſeſſor of the throne, will ever acquire the ſmalleſt independance on the will of the power which protects his perſon, whether Hindoo or Mahummedan. The rulers of the different provinces have, as yet, been contented to acknowledge a nominal ſubmiſſion to an emperor, from motives of convenience. It has prevented the jealouſy of their equals, and given a ſanction to their uſurpations with the people, who have yet regarded the Timur family as the fountain of honours and employments; but, except over Dhely, a ſmall tract around it, and during a few years in Korah and Aleabad, the emperors have had no real territorial authority, ſince the reign of Mahummud Shaw. The Mharattas once attempted to ſet up a ſovereign of their own at Dhely[*]; and, ſhould they not be interrupted in their preſent career of victory, may, in a few years, throw aſide the family of Timur, and declare the raja of Sittarra, or their peſhwa, emperor of Hindooſtan, or at leaſt of the extenſive ſhare of it in their poſſeſſion.

Since this concluſion, the wretch Gholaum Kaudir was puniſhed by Sindia. His ears, noſe, arms, and legs, were cut off; and in this mutilated ſtate he was ſent to Shaw Aulum, but died on the road to Dhely. Shaw Aulum has reaſſumed the throne, if ſuch it may be called, and ſubſiſts on the bounty of Sindia, who is employed in reducing the Jeypore country.

1792.

By the laſt advices, Sindia had levied contributions from the Jeypore, Odipore, and Jodepore rajas, and obliged them to cede ſome parts of their country, and pay tribute for the reſt. Shaw Aulum continues a mere penſioner on this chief. The ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, Nizam, and Mharattas againſt Tippoo Sultan, and the partition of his territories, promiſe ſome continuance of peace to Hindooſtan; where it is probable, however, the ſun of Timur has ſet for ever.

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[*] The failure of which attempt has been related in the defeat of the Bhaow, by the Abdallee Shaw, in the preceding pages.

END OF AURUNGZEBE's SUCCESSORS IN THE EMPIRE OF HINDOOSTAN.

PART VI.

HISTORY OF BENGAL,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

ALIVERDEE KHAN MAHABUT JUNG.

PREFACE.

IT was ſuppoſed, that an account of the affairs of BENGAL, with which we are ſo nearly concerned, would be more agreeable to the reader ſeparately detailed, as its connection muſt have been frequently broken off by the events in other provinces, if inſerted in the general hiſtory of the empire.

Bengal, ſince the death of Mahummud Shaw, like the other provinces, has been nearly independant of the emperors; the ſeveral navobs remitting only a trifling part of the revenues to court, and the Engliſh government, ſince the departure of Shaw Aulum in 1771 from under our protection, has ceaſed to pay any other acknowledgment of his ſovereignty, than uſing his name on the coin and in ſome of the orders of adminiſtration to native officers; if we except a few inconſiderable preſents offered him on the great Mahummedan feſtivals.

At the death of Aurungzebe, and for ſome years prior to that event, Bengal was governed by Moorſhud Koollee Jaffier

Khan, of whom an account has been publiſhed by Mr. GLADWIN, and alſo of his ſucceſſor Shujah ad Dowlah. His ſon Serferauz ad Dowlah was depoſed by Mahabut Jung, ſtiled alſo Aliverdee Khan, whoſe life begins the following pages. This was compiled from a Perſian manuſcript. The tranſactions from his laſt illneſs were tranſlated from the Perſian hiſtory of Bengal, as literally as poſſible, of [*] Gholaum Houſſein Khan, a learned and reſpectable character, once of greater conſequence, but now, if living, a member of the native court of judicature under the moſt worthy navob Alee Ibrahim Khan; the eſtabliſhment of which by Mr. HASTINGS reſtored juſtice and police to a great capital, in which they had long been neglected.

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[*] An Engliſh tranſlation of this has, I underſtand, been publiſhed in Calcutta, by Muſtapha, a French muſſulmaun, which I ſhould have wiſhed to have compared with my own, but have not been able to procure it.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF BENGAL.

MAHABUT Jung was originally named Meerza Mahummud Alee. His father, Meerza Mahummud, an officer in the ſervice of the prince Azim Shaw, on the death of his patron falling into diſtreſs, moved from Dhely to Cuttac, the capital of Oriſſa, in hopes of mending his fortune under Shujah ad Dowlah, a diſtant relation to his wife. Shujah ad Dowlah was ſon in law to Jaffier Khan, ſoubahdar of Bengal, from whom he held Oriſſa, as deputy governor. He received his relation with kindneſs, appointing an allowance for his ſupport; which induced Meerza Mahummud to ſend for his ſon, who accordingly repaired to Cuttac, and was entertained by Shujah ad Dowlah in his ſervice, at a monthly ſtipend of one hundred rupees. In a ſhort time, the abilities of Mahummud Alee engaging the eſteem of his patron, he gradually entruſted him with commands againſt rebellious zemindars, in which he proved himſelf worthy of confidence, and was generouſly rewarded by higher truſts. He now invited his elder brother Hajee Ahmud, then returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to join him; and on his arrival he, as alſo his three ſons, Mahummud Reza, Mahummud Saeed, and Mahummud Haſhim, were enrolled in the ſervice of Shujah ad Dowlah, at ſalaries of fifty, thirty, twenty, and fifteen rupees per month; but as the influence of Mahummud Alee encreaſed, they were proportionably raiſed to higher employments.

Jaffier Khan, being diſpleaſed at Shujah ad Dowlah's having neglected his daughter for other women, left at his death the ſucceſſion to his government to his grandſon Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; but Shujah ad Dowlah having more intereſt at the court of Dhely than his ſon, procured the ſoubahdary for himſelf; when Serferauz Khan dutifully ſubmitted to his authority, on promiſe of ſucceeding his parent, and continued to hold the office of [a] imperial dewan under him.

Shujah ad Dowlah, thinking himſelf greatly indebted to the abilities and fidelity of Mahummud Alee and Hajee Ahmud, for his eaſy acquiſition of the government of Bengal, purſued no meaſure without their advice. On the former he beſtowed the [b] fojedaury of Raujemahal, and procured for him from the emperor a [c] munſub and the title of Aliverdee Khan. The latter was appointed ſuperintendant of the cuſtoms of Moorſhudabad, and his three ſons to conſiderable employments. Theſe diſtinctions were but the paths to higher offices, as, in a ſhort time after, the province of Bahar being conferred by the emperor on Shujah ad Dowlah, he entruſted the government of it to Aliverdee Khan, obtaining for him additional rank, and the title of [a]Mahabut Jung. Hajee Ahmud was created dewan to the nayab, and his ſons raiſed to the governments of large diſtricts in Bengal and Bahar.

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[a] Superintendant of the collections. While the authority of the emperors was properly obſerved, the dewan of a province managed the revenues, and the nazim, or ſoubahdar, had no power over them, his office being ſolely that of commander in chief and diſpenſer of criminal law; but as the empire declined, he uſurped the rights of the dewan, whoſe office became nominal only. Lord Clive obtained it for the company, who reclaimed the proper exertion of the office, but have not for ſome years remitted any part of the revenue to Dhely. During Shaw Aulum's reſidence under their protection, he received annually twenty ſix lacs of rupees; but on quitting it, this tribute was withheld.

[b] The fojedaur in his diſtrict had the ſame authority as the nazim of a province; but latterly, his office has been confined to the ſuperintendance of police.

[c] Commander of a body of cavalry, ſometimes nominal only, for the purpoſe of giving a title, as all rank is military in Hindooſtan.

A. H. 1151. A. D. 1738.

Shujah ad Dowlah after twelve years' government of Bengal, (the inhabitants of which ſtill ſpeak with veneration of the lenient exerciſe of his authority,) dying, was ſucceeded by his ſon Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, a young prince, whoſe character as a moral and religious man ſtands high on the pages of native hiſtory. Euſuff Alee Khan, who writes that of Mahabut Jung, and ſtrives to apologiſe for his uſurpation, as the effect of neceſſity and ſelf-defence, ſays, "Serferauz Khan was "a prince of exemplary virtue; for though he poſſeſſed every "incitement to voluptuouſneſs in addition to the ſeaſon of "youth, yet he was not addicted to ſenſual enjoyments; and "during his ſhort government, in the courſe of which I was "conſtantly with him, I never beheld in his conduct even a "tendency towards a vicious action. But, alas! he was ig"norant of the arts of policy, and poſſeſſed not an addreſs or "manners to conciliate the world, ſo that he became a prey "to the machinations of his enemies."

Serferauz Khan at firſt confirmed all the ſervants of his father in office, but ſhortly, impelled by the clamour of his own dependants, who naturally wiſhed to ſhare in the advantages of government, he took the dewanny from Hajee Ahmud, and removed his friends Aulum Chund Royroyan and Juggutt

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[a] Impreſſing terror in war.

Seet from their employments; which gave much diſguſt to the [*] two brothers, who had for ſome years, through their influence with Shujah ad Dowlah, governed Bengal. Hajee Ahmud reſolved on the deſtruction of his maſter, and privately concerted with Mahabut Jung to depoſe him; but at the ſame time had the addreſs to make Serferauz Khan believe, till too late, that he was attached to his intereſts, and even to perſuade him to diſband a great part of his army, ſo unneceſſarily expenſive in a time of profound peace. He pretended that he was weary of the cares of office, and to thank the navob for relieving him of a burden, and giving him the indulgence of religious retirement in his old age; at the ſame time expreſſing his readineſs to give his advice on public affairs. His hypocriſy ſucceeded on the unſuſpecting mind of the prince, though he was frequently warned by friends of the danger of confiding in a diſplaced miniſter, and continuing his ſons and dependants in the government of diſtricts, which they yet enjoyed. He even communicated to Hajee Ahmud advice which had been given him to ſeize the perſons of himſelf and family; but this mark of ſincerity, inſtead of gaining their loyalty, only ſerved to make them haſten the work of treachery, leſt the navob ſhould in time be prevailed upon to follow the wholeſome counſel of his real friends. The apologiſts of Mahabut Jung ſay, that he had originally no deſigns on Bengal, but wiſhed only to be continued in the government of Bahar; and would not have conſpired againſt his patron, had he not been perſuaded by his brother, that his office and even life was in danger. Be this as it may, ſome months after his acceſſion,

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[*] It has been ſaid, (how truly I know not, as I have heard it contradicted by many perſons) that the following circumſtance encreaſed the diſguſt of the Seets. A near relation of their's, a young lady of uncommon beauty, was forced to ſhew herſelf to the navob, who, however, did not offer any other injury; but this was one, not to be forgiven conſiſtent with Indian honour.

ceſſion, Serferauz Khan, who had not yet received the royal grants of confirmation in his government, received intelligence from his agent at Dhely, that Mahabut Jung had employed emiſſaries to bribe the imperial miniſters, and obtain for himſelf the ſoubahdary of Bahar independantly, if not of Bengal. It is moſt probable that this information was true, as the court of Dhely was become notoriouſly corrupt; and even its weakneſs made the emperor, on the vacancy of government, deaf to juſter claims, and beſtow the ſucceſſion on him whoſe force was the ſtrongeſt, as the only mode of preſerving an acknowledgment of his authority.

Serferauz Khan now began to be alarmed; and, in order to reduce the influence of Mahabut Jung, he recalled the troops ſtationed with him in Bahar; but they did not obey him. He next tried conciliatory meaſures to gain his attachment, and propoſed an alliance between his own ſon and a niece of Hajee Ahmud; but this offer was rejected, and taken hold of as a pretence for rebellion, under colour of the young lady's having been already betrothed to another, which made the propoſal an indignity to the whole family, that ought to be revenged. Hajee Ahmud and his ſons wrote heavy complaints of this inſult to Mahabut Jung, aſſuring him, that the navob meant forcibly to celebrate the nuptials, and unleſs he ſhould prevent them, by ſpeedily marching to Bengal and reſcuing the lady and themſelves from his power, their family would be diſhonoured, and perhaps cut off in defending their reputation, by the tyrant. To account for the ſelf-ſecurity of Serferauz Khan at this period is impoſſible; for, though informed that Mahabut Jung was encreaſing his forces, and that he entertained treaſonable deſigns, Hajee Ahmud and his ſons were left at liberty, and Atta Oollah Khan, the father of the young lady, in command of the frontier ſtation towards Bahar; nor did he take the precaution to collect his troops. Suddenly he received advice, that Mahabut Jung had arrived at Raujemahal, not more than three days' march from the capital, with his army, having gained the paſſes by the connivance of Atta Oollah Khan, the fojedaur of that diſtrict. From hence he had a letter from the rebel, ſetting forth, that as the indignities offered to his family had amounted to perſonal diſhonour, he had marched thus far without orders, but hoped he ſhould not be obliged to come to extremities he wiſhed to avoid; and promiſing to retire, if the navob would ſend his brother and nephews with their families and effects to his camp.

Serferauz Khan on this occaſion rejected the advice of his friends to confine Hajee Ahmud, who, with ſolemn aſſeverations, declaring that Mahabut Jung would on his being allowed to viſit him, retire to his government, unleſs the navob ſhould invite him to his preſence as a mark of favour, was permitted to depart with his family. The navob diſpatched with him two confidential perſons, to aſſure Mahabut Jung of his regard, and learn, if poſſible, his real intentions. At the ſame time, he moved from the capital with about four thouſand horſe, and proceeded by eaſy marches towards the rebel. On the fourth day his agents returned, bringing him aſſurances from Mahabut Jung that he was loyal to his perſon and government; but requeſted that Ghoſe Mahummud Khan and others, who he knew had prejudiced the navob againſt him, might be removed from court, that he might ſafely come and pay his reſpects; alſo, that ſeven lacks of rupees would be given to pay the arrears of thoſe troops who had been detached with him from Bengal by the late navob.

Serferauz Khan now was not to be longer deceived. He ſaw the demands of the rebel in their true light, as made only to deprive him of his real friends, and render him a defenceleſs prey to treachery; but, inſtead of boldly continuing his march, he imprudently oppoſed art to art; in which he was unequal. He ſeemingly aſſented to the requeſts of Mahabut Jung, while he ſent emiſſaries with large ſums to bribe his followers to deſert him; but they betrayed their commiſſion, and the rebel taking immediate advantage of the navob's ſecurity in the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, while negotiations were depending, ſurprized his camp. Serferauz Khan was ſlain, it is ſuppoſed, by the treachery of his attendants, in the beginning of the attack. His troops, after a very gallant reſiſtance, in which ſucceſs often remained doubtful, were defeated, and Mahabut Jung became by his victory, ſoubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. Serferauz poſſeſſed the government only one year and two months, being in his thirty ſixth year at the time of his death, which happened in the year 1739.

Two days after his victory, Mahabut Jung entered the capital, and repairing firſt to the apartments of Nuſſeeſa Begum, daughter to Shujah ad Dowlah, entreated her pardon for the ſlaughter of her brother, and aſſured her of his protection to herſelf and the ſurvivors of her family. He then aſcended the muſnud in the hall of audience, and his authority as ſoubahdar was acknowledged by the officers of government and inhabitants of the city. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the treaſures of the unfortunate Serferauz Khan, which had accumulated to an immenſe amount by the ſavings of his grandfather and father, and had not been diminiſhed, Mahabut Jung ſent a corore of rupees in money, and to the amount of ſeventy lacs in jewels, plate, and rich goods, as an offering to the emperor; who, in return for this mark of obedience, ſhortly after confirmed him in the government of the three ſoubahs of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. It is ſaid, theſe ſums were but a trifling part of his acquiſitions. He conferred large ſums on his relations and adherents, and beſtowed an ample gratuity on the troops. Having arranged the affairs of Bengal, he prepared to reduce Oriſſa, which was as yet unſubdued to his government.

Moorſhud Koollee Khan, deputy governor of Oriſſa, ſon in law to Shujah ad Dowlah who had married the ſiſter of the late navob, on his overthrow had at firſt quietly acknowledged Mahabut Jung as ſoubahdar, and was continued in office; but ſoon afterwards, at the inſtigation of his wife and Baukir Khan, his ſon in law, who reproached him with cowardice in ſubmitting to a traitor, he withdrew his allegiance, and prepared to revenge the murder of his brother in law; for which purpoſe he levied an army, and invited the officers of the late navob to join his ſtandard againſt the uſurper.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of his deſigns, regarding them as the effect of artful perſuaſion on his mind, was willing if poſſible to avoid a rupture, and wrote letters of aſſurance that he had no enmity towards him; but, as circumſtances had rendered his ſtay in his territories hazardous for the peace of both parties, he entreated he would remove either to Dhely by way of Moorſhudabad, or to Dekkan, which was nearer Cuttac, with his family and effects. Moorſhud Koollee Khan, juſtly fearing oppoſition to Mahabut Jung fruitleſs, would have followed this advice; but his wife and Baukir Khan, by threats of depriving him of his wealth and imputations of cowardice, prevailed upon him to anſwer the navob's letters by inſults and defiance. Mahabut Jung upon this, leaving his brother Hajee Ahmud and his nephew Shawamut Jung in charge of his capital, moved with an army towards Cuttac.

On intelligence of his approach, Moorſhud Koollee Khan having ſummoned his friends to a conſultation, laid his ſabre before them, and after inveighing againſt the uſurpation and treachery of Mahabut Jung, declared his intentions of oppoſing him, ſhould they be firm in ſupport and attachment; but otherwiſe, to retire to ſome place of ſecurity with his family. The aſſembly unanimouſly aſſured him of their fidelity and readineſs to engage in war, and the chiefs of the army at his requeſt regirt the ſabre round his waiſt. After this, he moved from Cuttac, and encamped in a ſtrong ſituation, ſurrounded by thick woods and a river, fortifying his camp with nearly three hundred pieces of cannon.

Mahabut Jung ſpeedily arrived on the bank of the river, within a few miles of the enemy, and halted long, being incapable of diſlodging him from his ſecure poſition. In this ſituation his camp was but ill ſupplied with proviſions, the zemindars being attached to Moorſhud Koollee Khan, and cutting off his convoys, ſo that the troops ſoon began to murmur. Meerza Baukir Khan, learning the diſſatisfaction of the navob's army, contrary to the remonſtrances of Moorſhud Koollee Khan, at length imprudently moved from his camp and offered battle; which was gladly accepted by Mahabut Jung. The engagement was long and bloody, but finally decided in favour of the latter. Moorſhud Koollee Khan, his ſon in law, and chief dependants, made good their retreat to Balaſore, a ſeaport town, from whence they embarked on board ſhips, and arrived ſafely at Maſſulipatam, on the coaſt of Coromandel, where they were generouſly received by the ſojedaur, Anwer ad Dien Khan. The raja of Kuttepore, on the borders of Oriſſa, hearing of their flight, with a magnanimous humanity detached a force to Cuttac, and brought off their families and treaſure in ſafety to his reſidence, where he delivered them to Baukir Khan, who was ſent to receive them.

Mahabut Jung after his victory marched to Cuttac, and having arranged the affairs of the province, entruſted the government to his nephew Sowlut Jung, one of the ſons of Hajee Ahmud. He then returned to Moorſhudabad, and employed himſelf in regulating the concerns of Bengal, in which he conſulted the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the public. To the women and dependants of the late nabob he granted liberal allowances, and allotted them lands and houſes at Dacca, where they retired. Nuſſeeſa Begum, ſiſter to Alla ad Dowlah, having accepted the ſuperintendance of the haram of Shawamut Jung, was treated with the higheſt reſpect, and the revenue of the *Khauſs Talook and all eſtates bought by her grandfather, Jaffier Khan, left at her diſpoſal. A ſon of her brother's, born on the day of his death, whom ſhe had adopted, was permitted to reſide with her, and treated with parental fondneſs by Mahabut Jung and his nephew.

Sowlut Jung, in his government of Cuttac did not act with that prudence becoming his ſituation. He vexed the adherents of Moorſhud Koollee Khan, who had remained in the province under promiſe of not being moleſted in their eſtates, by fines and extortion, on pretence that they had ſecreted money belonging to their late chief; and, being much addicted to pleaſure, was guilty of exceſſes in procuring women for his haram from the inhabitants. To theſe oppreſſions he added an impolitic neglect of the troops ſtationed with him by his uncle, in leſſening their pay to garriſon allowance, which gave great diſguſt, ſo that numbers left his ſervice. Their places he filled with

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* A diſtrict round Moorſhudabad, of which Jaffier Khan had purchaſed the proprietary.

with natives of Cuttac, who, for the ſatisfaction of living at home, accepted of a trifling ſalary. Theſe men were ſecretly attached to the late governor, whoſe ſon in law now reſided on the borders of the province, in hopes of opportunity offering to renew his attempts. The conduct of Sowlut Jung becoming daily more oppreſſive to the people, they at length invited Moorſhud Koollee Khan to return; but he was too fond of his preſent retirement to hazard his perſon, and rejected their offers. They then had recourſe to Baukir Khan, who gladly accepted their promiſes of ſupport; and meaſures were ſo ſecretly contrived, that Sowlut Jung was ſuddenly taken priſoner in his palace in a general inſurrection of the people, and delivered to Baukir Khan, who aſſumed the government of Cuttac.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of this event, loſt no time in preparing to remedy the diſaſter. His brother Hajee Ahmud, and the mother of Sowlut Jung, apprehenſive for the ſafety of their ſon, would have prevailed upon him to give up Oriſſa to Baukir Khan on promiſe of allegiance, and attributed his ſucceſs to aids he had received from Nizam al Moolk, whom it would be impolitic to diſpleaſe, as it might bring upon him the force of Dekkan and loſs of Bengal; but he paid no attention to their advice. In a ſhort time his forces were ready; and, having left Shawamut Jung in the command of Moorſhudabad, he began his march at the head of twenty thouſand horſe and foot. As an encouragement to his chiefs, he had ordered them to make conſiderable additions to their corps, and promiſed a reward of a lac of rupees to the perſon who ſhould recover Sowlut Jung from captivity, and if he ſhould be the commander of a corps, to give two months pay additionally to each man.

Baukir Khan, on the approach of the navob, entrenched himſelf on the banks of the Mahanuddee; but having little hope of ſucceſs againſt ſo powerful an enemy, ſent off his baggage and family to Dekkan. Reſolved that Sowlut Jung ſhould not ſurvive his defeat, he placed him in a covered *rutt under the charge of two Moguls, who had orders to kill him, ſhould the troops of Mahabut Jung purſue and come up with them. To make his death the ſurer, he privately ordered the eſcort of horſe who guarded the carriage, on the approach of an enemy, to thruſt their ſpears into it, and deſtroy both the victim and the executioners. Mahabut Jung attacked the entrenchments of Bankir Khan, who was deſerted in an inſtant by his troops, too much intimidated to make reſiſtance; and the victors purſued ſo cloſely, that they ſpeedily overtook the eſcort of Sowlut Jung, when numerous ſpears were thruſt into the carriage, and one of the Moguls was killed, but Sowlut Jung eſcaped unhurt, by the wounded man's falling upon him. The other Mogul was ſlightly wounded, and made his eſcape, while the purſuers were releaſing their recovered prince. Mahabut Jung having returned thanks for his eaſy victory, and the ſafety of his nephew from ſuch imminent danger, ſent him, with a conſiderable force for his protection, to his parents at Moorſhudabad, not thinking it prudent to entruſt him again with the government of Cuttac. The women and family of Sowlut Jung, who had been detained priſoners in a fortreſs, were releaſed on news of the victory by the garriſon, and eſcorted ſafely to him. The navob, having regulated the affairs of the recovered province, gave the deputation of it to an officer of experience, named Mahummud Maſoom; and apprehending no new danger near, permitted moſt of the troops to retire to their homes, while he, with only his principal chiefs and about five thouſand horſe, marched ſlowly towards his capital, enjoying

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* A carriage drawn by oxen.

the amuſement of hunting on the way; but this calm was ſuddenly overcaſt by ſtorms, which threatened his deſtruction, and the deſolation of the provinces.

Mahabut Jung was encamped near Midnapore, when intelligence arrived that Boſkar Pundit had been detached by Ragojee Bhoſelah, the Mharatta chief of Berar, at the head of forty thouſand horſe, to demand the *chout[*] of Bengal, and was rapidly advancing towards him; but the navob, not expecting that they would enter by Oriſſa, was little alarmed at the report, as he had received advice of their intention to paſs through Bahar, and had intended on his return to the capital to take meaſures to reſiſt them, for which he fancied he ſhould have ample time before they could reach that province. In this, however, he was miſtaken, as an expreſs ſuddenly arrived that the enemy was within twenty coſs of his camp. Mahabut Jung upon this haſtened his march to Burdwan, a conſiderable town, intending to place in it his heavy baggage, and engage the Mharattas. Shortly after his arrival they appeared, and laid waſte the environs of the camp with fire and ſword. Some ſkirmiſhes took place with little loſs on either ſide; the enemy, whoſe object was plunder only, not chuſing to riſk a general action. Some days paſſed in this manner, when Boſkar Raow propoſed evacuating the country for a contribution of ten lacs of rupees, but this was refuſed; and Mahabut Jung reſolved to puſh his way to Moorſhudabad, where he could recruit his ſcattered force. He iſſued orders for the greateſt part of the heavy baggage and camp followers to remain at Burdwan, but in vain, as they were too much alarmed to truſt themſelves in the town; but the conſequence of their diſobedience was nearly fatal. On the firſt day's march, the Mharattas ſurrounded the line, and

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[*] A fourth part of the revenues, which the Mharattas demanded from every province. This claim is explained in the account of Dekkan.

Mahabut Jung, unable to defend the numerous crowd of uſeleſs attendants and market people of his army, now reduced to leſs than five thouſand fighting men, had the mortification of loſing the chief part of his baggage, artillery, and tents. When he halted for the night, only a ſmall tent could be procured for his reception. He now diſpatched a meſſenger with offers to pay the ten lacks of rupees to the Mharattas; but Boſkar Raow refuſed, and demanded a [*] corore, with all the elephants belonging to the navob. Mahabut Jung refuſed ſuch degrading conceſſions, and the next day proceeded on his march, which was haraſſed as uſual, and what little baggage remained fell a prey to the enemy; who, however, could make no impreſſion on the main body, and were often repulſed from the charge. For three days a running fight was kept up, during which the greateſt diſtreſs for proviſions and ſhelter from heavy rain was experienced by the troops of Mahabut Jung. On the fourth he reached Cutwa, which the Mharattas had laid waſte, and deſtroyed large magazines of grain by fire; but enough remained, though in a parched ſtate, to be an acceptable ſupply to an army almoſt periſhing with hunger. Here the navob encamped, on the bank of the river Bhaugruttee, ſecured by his poſition from further inſult of the enemy; and having written to his capital of the ſituation he was in, Sowlut Jung joined him expeditiouſly with a conſiderable reinforcement, and plentiful ſupplies of proviſions from the oppoſite bank of the river, which was yet unmoleſted by the enemy.

Boſkar Pundit, the Mharatta general, from the fear of paſſing the rains in the country of an enemy who had ſo gallantly oppoſed him, would have now retreated to Berar; but Meer Hubbeeb, an officer of Mahabut Jung's, who had been taken priſoner and accepted the ſervice of the Mharattas adviſed him to remain, offering to provide ſubſiſtance for his army, and to guide a detachment to Moorſhudabad, which might eaſily be plundered, it being unfortified. Boſkar reliſhed his propoſal, and entruſted him with the command of ſome thouſand horſe. The navob, having intelligence of this deſign, left Cutwa, and haſtened to the capital, where he arrived one day after Meer Hubbeeb, who had already plundered the ſuburbs, eſpecially the factory of Juggut Seet, to the amount of three lacs of rupees. On the arrival of Mahabut Jung he retreated, and prevailed on Boſkar to encamp at Cutwa for the rainy ſeaſon; and the navob, ſatisfied with having preſerved the city from plunder, deferred further operations till he could recruit his army, and ſtrengthen the capital by new works. The enemy, while the fords permitted, two or three times advanced to Plaſſey and Daoodpore; not many miles diſtant from Moorſhudabad, plundering the villages, till the ſwelling of the Bhaugruttee confined them to the oppoſite ſhore. During the rains, Boſkar Pundit, by means of Meer Hubbeeb, poſſeſſed himſelf of Hughly, Injalee, and all the diſtricts of Burdwan and Midnapore as far as Balaſore, alſo Bheerbhoom, Raujeſhawee, and Raujemahal; ſo that, except Moorſhudabad and its environs, nothing remained to the navob weſt of the Ganges in Bengal; but the diſtricts to the eaſt of that river afforded him ample reſources. The inhabitants of the capital, during the rainy ſeaſon, for the moſt part moved with their families and effects acroſs the Ganges for the greater ſecurity. The families, treaſures, and valuables of Mahabut Jung and his relations, were alſo ſent over that river to Godagauree, under the care of Shawamut Jung, who returned to the capital after he had provided a place of ſafety for them.

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[*] Upwards of a million ſterling.

Mahabut Jung paſſed the rainy ſeaſon in raiſing new levies and encouraging his troops; to whom he diſtributed ten lacs of rupees, which he had promiſed them when ſurrounded by the Mharattas. The dry weather had not yet commenced, when he marched from Moorſhudabad, and croſſed the Bhaugruttee over a bridge of boats, without oppoſition from the enemy, who ſtill continued in their camp at Cutwa, which was divided from the navob's army by a deep rivulet, much ſwollen by the rains. Mahabut Jung during the night ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown acroſs it, which was done without being perceived by the enemy. About midnight, Meer Jaffier Khan, Muſtapha Khan, and other chiefs, at the head of a choſen body, began to croſs. Half of this detachment had ſcarcely reached the oppoſite bank, when a boat in the middle of the bridge was looſened, and ſunk by the weight of paſſengers; and the troops in the rear preſſing on, numbers were puſhed in and drowned, before the accident was diſcovered. Six hundred men are ſaid to have periſhed in this manner; but ſuch was the ardour of the troops and conduct of Mahabut Jung, that the accident was ſoon repaired, and by daylight the whole army had croſſed, and prepared to attack the enemy. Boſkar Raow was ſo intimidated at this bold and unexpected meaſure, that he fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving great part of his baggage and tents behind him; but was ſo rapidly purſued, as to loſe a conſiderable number of men within two coſs of Cutwa, where he tried to make a ſtand, but in vain, his troops flying on the navob's approach. He continued his retreat to the woods of Pacheet, and was followed by Mahabut Jung ſo cloſely, that finding it impoſſible to gain the paſſes by this route, he changed it, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, and returned into the foreſts of Biſhenpore, ſo as to deceive his purſuers, and gain the open country by way of Chunderkoona into Midnapore. Here he encamped, and detached a force againſt Cuttac, which was but ill defended by troops; and the governor, Maſoom Khan, raſhly marching out with his ſmall force, was defeated and ſlain.

Mahabut Jung having at laſt procured intelligence of the change of the enemy's route, marched back, and haſtened to Burdwan. From thence he advanced to Midnapore, where Boſkar Raow, encouraged by his late ſucceſs againſt Maſoom Khan, gave him battle, but was defeated with great ſlaughter, and fled by way of Cuttac, to the borders of his own country. The navob, not thinking it neceſſary to purſue beyond his own territories, now completely evacuated by the enemy, having entruſted the government of Cuttac to Abd al Ruſſool Khan, returned triumphantly to his capital. The emperor Mahummad Shaw, as a mark of approbation, now conferred upon him the title of [a] Hiſſam ad Dowlah, with a khelaut, ſword and dagger ſet with jewels, alſo a ſirpeach and collar of pearls. The title of [b] Ihtiſham ad Dowlah was conferred on Shawamut Jung, that of [c] Mahaum ad Dowlah on Sowlut Jung, and that of [d] Hitteram ad Dowlah on Hybut Jung, his three nephews; and inferior ranks and titles on the principal officers of his army.

Mahabut Jung, on the firſt invaſion of the Mharattas, had applied to the emperor for aſſiſtance; and Suffder Jung, navob of Oude, was ordered with his troops into Bengal, but had advanced no farther than Patna, the capital of Bahar, when Boſkar Raow was defeated. Mahabut Jung, encouraged by victory, now thought himſelf fully equal to the defence of his provinces; and informing Suffder Jung that he had no further occaſion for ſuccours, requeſted him to quit Patna and return home, which he did, though with ſome reluctance, having intended, it is ſaid, had Mahabut Jung been worſted by his enemy, to have added Bahar to his own government. During his ſtay at Patna, he

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[a] Force of the ſtate.

[b] Eminent in the ſtate.

[c] Regulator of the ſtate.

[d] Dignifier of the ſtate.

had ſelected ſome pieces of artillery and elephants belonging to the deputy governor for his own uſe, without the conſent of Mahabut Jung, and he not reliſhing ſuch acts of authority in an auxiliary, was much offended, ſo that a coolneſs took place between them; and had not Suffder Jung thought proper to retreat, in all probability an open rupture would have ſoon ſucceeded his refuſal.

The attempts of the Mharattas on Bengal did not end with the defeat of Boſkur Raow. Ragojee Bhoſela, enraged at the repulſe of his general, immediately prepared a new army, at the head of which he entered Bengal without delay. At the ſame time, [a] Ballajee Raow, the principal Mharatta chief, advanced with a conſiderable force to receive payment of a draft of [b] eleven lacs of rupees, given by the emperor on Mahabut Jung, but with profeſſed declarations of affording his aſſiſtance to him againſt the former, by orders from Dhely. Ragojee having entered the country by way of Beerboom, fixed his head quarters in the diſtrict of Burdwan, while Ballajee marched through Bahar to the bank of the Bhaugruttee, not very far from the capital. Mahabut Jung advanced to meet him, and an interview took place, at which it was agreed, that both armies ſhould act in conjunction againſt Ragojee. It is ſuppoſed, the navob paid a great ſum for his alliance with this Mharatta general, whoſe coming to Bengal is variouſly accounted for. Some attribute it to the emperor's orders, in conſequence of the requeſt of Mahabut Jung; others, to the royal anger at his uſurpation of the government; but it is more probable, that Ballajee was allured by the proſpect of obtaining a conſiderable plunder in Bengal, and gratifying his enmity againſt the Berar chief, than that he ſhewed any regard to Mahummud Shaw's approbation or diſlike of the conduct of Mahabut Jung. Both armies now marched to expell Ragojee from Burdwan, and continued together for ſome days, when Ballajee, not liking the ſlow movement of the Bengal troops, took upon himſelf the puniſhment of the Berar chief, and left the navob. Ragojee fled, as he advanced, to his own country; and Mahabut Jung, having thus prudently cleared the provinces of his enemy, returned to Moorſhudabad; but though he did not in this campaign ſuffer loſs in the field, that of the revenue was great, as the unfortunate inhabitants of the defenceleſs villages were plundered without mercy by both the Mharatta armies; nor were their calamities yet at an end from the invaders.

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[a] Ballajee and Ragojee at this time were at enmity as rivals for the peſhwaſhip or miniſtry of the Mharatta ſtates.

[b] One hundred and ten thouſand pounds.

Ragojee the year following again ſent Boſkar Raow, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, to invade Bengal, but with orders to offer peace, ſhould the navob ſubmit to pay a heavy contribution, as he had done to Ballajee. Mahabut Jung on their approach moved with his army and encamped at Munkirra, only ten miles from his capital, having it in contemplation to take advantage of the deſire his enemy had for money to allure the principal chiefs to an interview by promiſes of large ſums, and cut them off by treachery; which, if effected, he could eaſily vanquiſh an army deprived of its leaders. With ſuch views, he diſpatched Maſtapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram to the Mharatta camp, with propoſals of peace and an invitation to Boſkar Raow to come to an interview, ſhould the terms of friendſhip be accepted. Boſkar Raow demanded heavy contributions; to which the agents readily conſented, provided he would viſit Mahabut Jung, who at the ſame time daily ſent him friendly letters and valuable preſents. At length, the Mharatta, blinded by avarice, conſented, and a day was appointed. The navob having communicated his intentions to his nephew

Sowlut Jung, Jaffier Khan, and Fakeer Oollah Beg, commanded them to ſelect a confidential band of men, and draw them up within the ſkreens round the tent of audience, with orders to ruſh upon Boſkar and his attendants upon a ſignal, which he appointed, promiſing liberal rewards for their obedience. At length, the day fixed being arrived, Boſkar Raow moved from Cutwa with the greateſt part of his army, and on his arrival near the navob's encampment, leaving his troops drawn up in order of battle, advanced with other principal chiefs and his attendants. The Bengal troops were drawn up to receive him. Near the tent of audience he diſmounted, and entered the encloſure of ſkreens with his companions, ſupported by Muſtapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram, who ſoon after, however, contrived to quit him. Mahabut Jung eagerly enquired as he advanced, which was Boſkar Raow? and on his being pointed out, cried out with a loud voice, "Cut down the infidel." In an inſtant the appointed band ruſhed on their victims, and Boſkar Raow, with nineteen officers of rank, were ſlaughtered. The navob now mounted his elephant, and putting himſelf at the head of his troops, furiouſly charged the Mharatta line; which, not expecting an attack and deprived of their generals, was routed in an inſtant. Mahabut Jung purſued the enemy to Cutwa, their ſtanding camp, which had been left under the command of Ragoo Gicowaur, who had uniformly refuſed to accompany Boſkar to the fatal interview. Being informed of the fate of his general, he fled with precipitation, and evacuated the provinces without attempting to revenge the maſſacre. Mahabut Jung returned to Moorſhudabad; and having diſtributed ten lacs of rupees, as a gratuity to the troops, conferred liberal rewards on thoſe chiefs who had aſſiſted moſtly in the completion of his inſidious and bloody victory. Hajee Ahmud about this time being offended at his brother, for refuſing him the fojedaury of Hughly, though he had a greater revenue than he could expend, and the office he deſired was conferred on his own ſon Sowlut Jung, who had been without any conſequential employment ſince his unfortunate adminiſtration at Cuttac, retired in diſguſt to Patna, where he devoted himſelf in his old age to ſenſual enjoyments.

Mahabut Jung, now freed from foreign enemies, was aſſiduouſly employed in the regulation of his provinces, and forming plans for the repair of that deſolation which the Mharattas had ſpread through all the diſtricts weſt of the river Ganges; but a ſtorm ſoon aroſe within his own dominions, which was more threatening to his power than the armies of Dekkan. He had, in order to attach his chiefs to his intereſt during the war, been laviſh of his favours, and more ſo of promiſes of future rewards; but which, now finding inconvenient to fulfil, he broke through; which gave offence to many, but particularly to his principal general, Muſtapha Khan.

Muſtapha Khan had been conſtantly the chief counſellor and agent of Mahabut Jung. To his fidelity and valour he in great meaſure owed his acquiſition of the muſnud of Bengal, and his ſucceſs over the Mharatta invaders. To his addreſs he was indebted alſo for the deciſive, but treacherous blow, given to his enemies, by the late aſſaſſination of Boſkar Raow and his officers; and, it is ſaid, that for this laſt ſervice he had promiſed him the government of Bahar, which was held by his nephew and ſon in law, Hybut Jung. The general was preſſing for the performance of his promiſe, and in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed he rather eſteemed himſelf the partner in authority than ſervant of the navob. He interfered alſo, by his recommendations of perſons to office, with the plans of Mahabut Jung, who granted many favours to his importunity, but every compliance was inſtantly ſucceeded by new requeſts; ſo that the navob was in danger of becoming a tool in the hands of his general, a ſituation which his high ſpirit could not brook. To ſuch a pitch had Muſtapha Khan carried his influence, that the zemindars of Bengal; when the dewan, or revenue collectors, puſhed them for payment, or enforced arrangements, they did not chuſe, however neceſſary and juſt, bribed him to ſkreen them from the reſentment of the navob; who, to pleaſe his miniſter, (whom he wiſhed not to diſguſt in a ſeaſon of danger) too often repealed his own orders, to the injury of his treaſury and authority, inſomuch that the civil officers of government became of little conſequence in the eyes of the renters. Mahabut Jung bore with the evil till it was becoming dangerous; but on the general's demanding the province of Bahar, he was obliged to refuſe, fearing, from his own conduct in a ſimilar ſituation, that Muſtapha Khan would finally direct the force which that government would give him, againſt his patron, as he himſelf had done againſt the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. He endeavoured, however, by every means to ſatisfy him for his breach of promiſe, but in vain. Muſtapha Khan had reſolved to eſtabliſh himſelf in Bahar, and would not be put off. It is ſaid, that he had even views upon Bengal, to ſatisfy which he would not have ſpared the life of his maſter. Jealouſies now took place, and each party became ſuſpicious of the other's intentions, knowing that aſſaſſination was an engine they each could make uſe of without remorſe, and which, perhaps, both watched an opportunity to employ. Appearances of regard were however kept up between the navob and his general; but the latter now always went well guarded in his viſits to court. At length, an accident brought affairs to a criſis, which produced an open rupture.

Muſtapha Khan, one day intending to pay his reſpects to the navob, diſpatched before him two of his principal officers, to obſerve the ſtate of the audience chamber, and remark if there were ſigns of treachery againſt him; a precaution he had uſed ſince the coolneſs had taken place. The officers having made their obeiſance to the prince, ſat down to wait the arrival of the general, when, juſt as it was announced, a eunuch came from the interior apartments, and informed Mahabut Jung, that his Begum was ſuddenly taken ill, and deſired to ſee him; the navob roſe up, and, retiring, deſired that the officers would excuſe him for a few minutes to their general. At this inſtant, the tread of feet and uncommon ruſtling was heard in the paſſage to the haram, which the officers, ever ſuſpicious of treachery, ſuppoſing to proceed from armed men concealed to aſſaſſinate their lord, and the navob's departure giving colour to their apprehenſions, they ruſhed out, and informed Muſtapha Khan, who was now alighting in the court, of their fears. The general, prepared for alarm by the conſciouſneſs of his own evil deſigns, remounted; and, haſtening precipitately to his cantonments, refuſed to return, though the navob, who had almoſt inſtantaneouſly come back to the chamber of audience, diſpatched after him his nephew Shawamut Jung to inform him that he was waiting to receive him, and anxious to enquire the cauſe of his ſudden departure, with ſolemn aſſurances, that no treachery had been intended. On the return of his nephew, Mahabat Jung would have gone in perſon to perſuade him of his ſincerity; but the entreaties of his family, who were alarmed for his ſafety, prevailed upon him to give up that hazardous deſign. Every trial was made to calm the apprehenſions of the general, but in vain; and he now openly declared his intentions of quitting the navob's ſervice with his friends, and demanded the arrears of pay due to himſelf and followers. Mahabut Jung gladly complied with his wiſhes, and paid without delay * ſeventeen lacs of rupees, without examining his accounts; at the ſame [illegible] time

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* One hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds.

time commanding him, as he was reſolved to leave his ſervice, to quit his dominions. Muſtapha Khan, emboldened by the readineſs with which the navob ſatisfied his demands, and regarding it as a proof of weakneſs and fear, made propoſals to the Afghaun commanders of corps to depoſe Mahabut Jung, and divide his territories equally among them. Shumſheer Khan, a conſiderable chief, agreed to join him; but the reſt, as Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and others, declined, ſaying, that if Mahabut Jung had injured him by withholding his juſt demands, they would readily have aſſiſted him in enforcing redreſs; but to mutiny for no cauſe, or behave ungratefully to their benefactor, they eſteemed baſe and diſhonourable. The navob took care to improve this good diſpoſition by preſent gratuities and promiſes of favour to the loyal chiefs and their followers; but, not willing to hazard the ſafety of his capital by proceeding to extremities againſt the rebel, was content to guard the city from inſult, and wait patiently for his departure. At length, Muſtapha Khan having uſed every art, but without effect, to corrupt the army, marched from Moorſhudabad with upwards of eight thouſand horſe and a great number of foot, having previouſly ſet fire to his cantonments, with the intention of poſſeſſing himſelf of Bahar. The inhabitants of the city, who during the quarrel had been under the greateſt alarm for their perſons and property, received new life from his departure. The navob, having liberally rewarded his troops for their fidelity, particularly Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and Shumſheer Khan, who had been gained over from joining the rebel, now prepared to purſue him. After a few days, leaving the city in charge of his nephew Shawamut Jung, he began his march; at the ſame time writing to Hybut Jung, governor of Patna, the capital of Bahar, not to hazard an engagement in the field, and if he thought that city not defenſible, to croſs the river, and move down the oppoſite bank, till he could form a junction with his grand army.

Muſtapha Khan having plundered Raujemahal, and taken ſome elephants and cannon ſtationed there to his own uſe, proceeded to Monghyr, of which he gained poſſeſſion with little loſs, the fortreſs being in a ruinous ſtate. He next advanced towards Patna, hoping to make an eaſy conqueſt of that city; but intelligence of his defection having reached Hybut Jung, who was then engaged in ſome operations on the oppoſite bank of the Ganges, he returned expeditiouſly, and encamped near the town, reſolved, notwithſtanding the contrary advice of his uncle the navob, to oppoſe the enemy, however ſuperior in number. He diſpatched a meſſenger to Muſtapha Khan, deſiring to know his intentions, declaring, that if they were to ſeize the city, he muſt produce the imperial orders for his conduct, before it ſhould be given up; but, if his deſign was only to paſs through the province into Benaras or Oude, he was welcome to purſue his route any way but through the capital. The rebel inſolently replied, “That he thought it incumbent upon “him to deſtroy [a] heretics like Mahabut Jung; and as the “ſcripture ſaith, ‘Territory is for him who can conquer it,’ “there was no occaſion for the imperial grant.” He concluded by aſking, “By what authority was his uncle ſupported in ſeiz“ing Bengal, and murdering his ſovereign Serferauz Khan?”

Hybut Jung, not intimidated at the rebel's approach, prepared to receive him, though his army did not conſiſt of more than five or ſix thouſand horſe, great part of them new levies, raiſed in a hurry, and inexperienced. The enemy ſoon appear-

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[a] Muſtapha Khan was a Soonni, the ſectaries of which are advocates for the juſtice of the ſucceſſion to the prophet of the three firſt kaliphs, Aboubeker, Omar, and Oſmaun, in prejudice to Alee, the prophet's ſon in law. Mahabut Jung was of the Sheea ſect, who regard Alee as the ſucceſſor of the prophet, and even his equal in holineſs. The ſuperſtitious among them even ſay, that God commiſſioned the angel Gabriel to deliver his revelation to Alee, but that he, by miſtake, gave it to Mahummud.

ed, and attacked his camp without delay; when Hybut Jung was deſerted by all his troops, except a few hundred veterans who guarded his perſon, on the firſt onſet. Muſtapha Khan, was furiouſly charging this ſmall body, when his elephant driver being killed by a muſquet ſhot, the animal became unruly, and at the ſame time two of his principal officers, Oudal Shaw and Hakeem Shaw, were mortally wounded. Unable to manage his elephant, he alighted in order to mount a horſe; but his troops, on miſſing him from his *howdah, ſuppoſed him ſlain, were ſeized with a panic, and retreated in confuſion towards their own camp. Muſtapha Khan endeavoured in vain to rally and convince them of their error, but was obliged to retire. Hybut Jung, not thinking it prudent to purſue, was contented with the repulſe of the enemy, and remained within his lines. A diſtant cannonade and ſkirmiſhing was kept up for ſeven days between the two armies, but on the eighth, the rebel, after ſending off his baggage and tents ſome miles to the weſtward of Patna, again attacked the lines of Hybut Jung, who defended his poſt with gallantry and reſolution. Muſtapha Khan, ſtill unfortunate, in the beginning of the aſſault was wounded in the eye with an arrow, which obliged him to retreat; and having now intelligence of the near approach of Mahabut Jung, he judged it beſt to give over his deſigns on Patna, and march towards the frontier of Bahar. He was ſoon purſued by the united forces of the nabob and his nephew from place to place, till he had paſſed the borders into the territories of Suffder Jung; not chuſing to hazard an engagement, as his troops were diſpirited by their late repulſes, and the loſs of their two principal chiefs. He expected alſo to be ſoon joined by a body of Mharattas, in conjunction with whom he hoped to be more ſucceſsful at a future period. He retired under the walls

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* A ſeat uſed on elephants.

walls of the fortreſs of *Chunar, and Mahabut Jung did not chuſe to run the riſk of embroiling himſelf with the navob of Oude by carrying the purſuit into his dominions.

The navob had ſcarcely returned to Patna, when he received intelligence, that Ragojee Bhoſela, encouraged by aſſurances of aſſiſtance from Muſtapha Khan, and eager to revenge the aſſaſſination of Boſkar Raow and his officers, had marched towards Bengal with a large army, and was rapidly advancing. Mahabut Jung, leaving Hybut Jung to defend Bahar and watch the motions of the rebel, haſtened to Moorſhudabad for the defence of that city, and prevent, if poſſible, a junction of the Mharattas with Muſtapha Khan. At the ſame time he ſent an ambaſſador to endeavour to divert Ragojee from his invaſion; but that chief, ſuppoſing Bengal to be in a ſtate of diſaffection, and the offers of the navob to proceed from fear, demanded the unreaſonable ſum of [b]three corores of rupees as the price of his forbearance. Mahabut Jung, though reſolved not to conſent to terms ſo exorbitant and diſhonourable, yet willing to gain time, in hopes that the rainy ſeaſon, now near, would ſtop the Mharatta from action, and allow him effectually to puniſh Muſtapha Khan, inſtructed his ambaſſador to amuſe Ragojee with profeſſions of compliance. In conſequence of this, nearly two months were waſted in negotiation at Burdwan, where the enemy encamped; and, at the expiration of that time, Mahabut Jung received the happy intelligence of the defeat and death of Muſtapha Khan, who had with great additions to his former force invaded Bahar, thinking to make it an eaſy conqueſt, as the invaſion of the Mharattas would prevent ſuccours being ſent from Bengal; but the abilities and good fortune of Hybut Jung prevailed againſt him.

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* Chunar is a diſtrict in Banaras, and will be long celebrated in India for having been the refuge of Mr. Haſtings during the rebellion of Cheyt Sing.

[b] Three millions ſterling.

The navob, who had continued at his capital in order to convince Ragojee that he was ſincere in his deſire of peace, now ordered his ambaſſador to return, and ſent him this vaunting meſſage: "Thoſe who ſeek peace from an enemy, are "guided either by a ſenſe of their own loſs or inferiority, or "hopes of advantage; but, praiſed be God, the heroes of the "faith feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace therefore "depends upon this. When the lions of Iſlaum ſhall ſo engage "the monſters of idolatry, that they ſhall ſwim in the blood "of each other, and ſtruggle till one party ſhall, overpowered, "beg for quarter." Ragojee replied, "that to obtain this criſis, "he had already advanced near a thouſand miles from his "own country; but the navob had not yet moved one hun-"dred, to do him the honours of a meeting." Mahabut Jung rejoined, "that the rainy ſeaſon being arrived, and Ragojee "having ſuffered fatigue and inconvenience from his long march, "it would be prudent for him to ſpend the inclement months "in ſome convenient ſpot, that his troops might refreſh, and "prepare for engagement in the dry ſeaſon, when he would "reſpectfully wait upon him, even to his own dominions." Ragojee, accordingly, encamped in Beerbhoom, and reduced the province of Cuttac and moſt of Burdwan by his detachments.

D. 1746. In the beginning of the cool ſeaſon of 1158, Mahabut Jung marched from his capital to offer battle to the enemy. Ragojee had by this time moved into Bahar, in order to form a junction with the remains of Muſtapha Khan's adherents, who ſtill continued to infeſt the hilly part of that province under Mortuzza Khan, ſon to the deceaſed chief, and Bullund Khan, a principal officer, but were too weak to venture into the open country alone. The navob, not being able to overtake the Mharattas, encamped at Baukipore, a ſhort diſtance weſt of Patna, for ſome time; but on hearing that the enemy had croſſed the Soane to join the Afghauns, he proceeded to Mohib Aleepore, on the banks of that river.

Ragojee having effected his purpoſe of joining the rebels, advanced towards the navob's army in great force, and ſeveral engagements took place, in all which the latter was victorious, particularly in one, when the Mharatta general was ſo completely ſurrounded that he muſt have been taken priſoner, had not Shumſheer Khan and Serdaur Khan, two of Mahabut Jung's officers, who were privately negotiating a treaty with the enemy, purpoſely let him eſcape. This diſcovery of treachery alarmed the navob, and he again offered terms to the Mharatta, but Ragojee would not accept them; and ſeeing no advantage in oppoſing Mahabut Jung in the field, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, he proceeded ſuddenly by quick marches towards Moorſhudabad, in hopes of being able to plunder that city before the navob could reach it with his army. Mahabut Jung, however, moved with ſuch expedition, that he arrived only one day after the enemy, who had only time to ravage part of the ſuburbs, and retreated, on his approach, acroſs the river Bhaugruttee. The navob followed Ragojee to Cutwa, near which he obliged him to engage, and defeated him with great ſlaughter, when the Mharatta retreated towards Midnapore. Here, having received intelligence of inſurrections in his own country, Ragojee returned haſtily to Berar with the bulk of his army, leaving Meer Hubbeeb and the Afghaun chiefs for the defence of Cattac; upon which the navob, giving up for the preſent the recovery of that province, returned to his capital, in order to refreſh his troops and correct ſome abuſes which he had diſcovered among his principal officers.

It has been already mentioned, that Serdaur Khan and Shumſheer Khan, during the campaign had ſuffered Ragojee to eſcape, when they might have made him priſoner. The navob had alſo, while the Mharattas were in the neighbourhood of the capital, entruſted the protection of the roads between it and Bogwangolah, from whence the city was furniſhed with ſupplies from the diſtricts eaſtward of the Ganges, to thoſe officers, who, either through neglect or deſign, allowed the marauders more than once to plunder the convoys. The navob, upon this, removed them from that duty, which he entruſted to his nephew Sowlut Jung, who fulfilled it to his ſatisfaction, and intercepted letters from Ragojee to the former commanders, which proved their connivance. Mahabut Jung had concealed his ſuſpicions till the retreat of the Mharattas; but, upon his return to Moorſhudabad, he diſmiſſed them with their followers, about ſix thouſand men, from his ſervice, but allowed them to retire to their homes in the diſtrict of Durbunga, on the eaſtern ſide of the Ganges, in the province of Bahar. In this ſeaſon of temporary repoſe were celebrated the marriages of his grandſon, Serauje ad Dowlah, and Ikraum ad Dowlah, ſon to the late navob Alla ad Dowlah, who had been adopted by Shawamut Jung, who had no children. Upwards of two thouſand rich dreſſes were diſtributed on this occaſion among the attendants at court, and, during a whole month, the populace were feaſted at the expenſe of the navob. The magnificence of theſe nuptials, the brilliant illuminations, ſplendid pageants, and grand proceſſions of the bridegrooms, are ſtill ſpoken of with admiration by the inhabitants of Bengal.

Mahabut Jung, having now reſolved to attempt the expulſion of the Mharattas and Afghauns from Cuttac, appointed Meer Jaffier Khan to the command of a conſiderable detachment for that ſervice, giving him, by way of encouragement, the

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[*] The ſame perſon who, after the deceaſe of Mahabut Jung, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, acquired the muſnud of Bengal.

the fojedaurees of Injalſe and Midnapore. In addition to the office of paymaſter general. Meer Jaſſier, on his arrival at Midnapore, defeated a ſmall body of the enemy, when, being much addicted to luxury and indolence, he did not purſue his advantage, but put his troops into cantonments; though the navob ordered him to proceed to Cuttac without delay, before the enemy could be reinforced from Berar, the chief's ſon of which, Janojee, was preparing for a freſh invaſion. At length, the expected Mharatta army entered Cuttac, and Meer Jaſſier, not chuſing to hazard the defence of Midnapore, retreated towards Burdwan, when the advanced party of the enemy, obſerving his puſillanimity, hung upon his rear, and plundered his baggage of ſeveral elephants. Mahabut Jung, upon this, diſpatched Atta Oollah Khan with a reinforcement, to ſuperſede him in the command, and moved alſo himſelf from the capital with his army, to ſupport him, if neceſſary. Atta Oollah at Burdwan engaged the enemy, and defeated them; but having ſecretly deſigns on the government, the acceſſion to which he had been foretold by a fanatic officer in his ſervice, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, he thought the preſent a proper occaſion to aſſume independance. For this purpoſe, he endeavoured to corrupt Meer Jaſſier by a promiſe of the government of Bahar, if he would aſſiſt in depoſing the navob. Meer Jaſſier at firſt liſtened to the propoſal, but, at the remonſtrances of his friends on the danger of the attempt, withdrew his concurrence. Intelligence of this treacherous combination, however, having reached Mahabut Jung, he determined to leſſen their influence, and, on his arrival at Burdwan, reprimanded Meer Jaſſier ſeverely for his conduct in Midnapore, upon which that chief refrained from his uſual attendance at the durbar. Atta Oollah Khan, proud of his late victory, and not ſuſpecting that his evil deſigns were known to the navob, demanded the command of a thouſand horſe for Meer Alee Aſgir, the fanatic officer who had propheſied his exaltation, and had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action; but this the navob refuſed, and Atta Oollah being diſguſted, threatened to leave the army. Mahabut Jung was not to be moved, and he accordingly retired with his followers to Moorſhudabad. The navob would now have overlooked the faults of Meer Jaffier, and, on the death of a relation, condeſcendingly went to pay him a viſit of condolance, as a mark of returning favour; but that chief, ſuppoſing this honour to proceed from a dread of his influence, inſolently neglected the complimentary advance from his tent to meet him; on which the navob, in great wrath, laid aſide his intentions, after he had gone half way, and returned to his camp. He now ordered him to give in the accounts of his office, and ſend Shujan Sing, his deputy, with them to the durbar. Meer Jaffier refuſed; upon which the navob removed him from all his employments, and offered ſervice to his followers in other corps, which they readily embraced. The general, finding himſelf deſerted, would have made conceſſions, but the navob ordered him to leave the army, and retire to the capital.

Mahabut Jung, notwithſtanding this diſſention and the loſs of two of his generals, kept the field, and defeated the Mharattas in ſeveral engagements. Janojee attempted, like his father, to plunder the capital; but the navob followed him with ſuch rapidity, that he had not time to execute his deſigns; and, on the approach of the rains, retired to Midnapore, where he cantoned, and Mahabut Jung marched to Moorſhedabad, not chuſing to purſue him farther till the dry ſeaſon. Meer Alee Afgur, the propheſying fanatic, was now obliged by the navob to quit the provinces, though Shawamut Jung uſed every entreaty with his uncle to allow him to remain in the city with Atta Oollah Khan, whom the navob yet permitted to reſide there.

The rains had ſcarcely ſubſided, when Mahabut Jung prepared to march againſt the Mharatas, and was encamped at Amaunee Gunge, not far from the capital, when he received ſudden intelligence of an inſurrection in Bahar, the aſſaſſination of his nephew Hybut Jung, and the captivity and diſgraceful death of his brother Hajee Ahmud. It has been already remarked, that the navob had diſcharged from his ſervice the Afghaun chiefs, Shumſheer Khan and Serdaur Khan, with their followers. Theſe generals had reſided ſince that time in their jaghires in Derbunga; but the exiſtence of ſuch a body of armed men, free from any controul of the governor of the province, could not long continue without endangering its ſafety. Hybut Jung, according to ſome reports, dreading their rebellion, or, to others, by attaching the Afghauns to his intereſts, meaning to enſure his ſucceſſion to his uncle, or to aſſume independance on his authority, had during the rains repreſented to him by his agent, that the diſcharged chiefs were ſorry for their paſt conduct, and deſirous of being readmitted to his ſervice. He therefore requeſted, that he might be allowed to entertain them, as the only mode of preventing a commotion, to which they would have recourſe, ſhould their petition be rejected. Mahabut Jung with ſome reluctance conſented, and Hybut Jung made propoſals to the two chiefs, which they received with ſeeming ſatisfaction. The terms of ſervice being adjuſted, they marched from Derbunga to the bank of the Ganges, oppoſite Patna; and Hybut Jung, to aſſure them of his confidence and ſincerity, condeſcended to viſit them with a few attendants. He was received with proper reſpect, and a day was fixed for their croſſing the river with their followers. The navob returned to his palace ſatiſfied of their fidelity, and iſſued orders for the proviſion of boats for their conveyance. On the day appointed, the Afghauns croſſed the Ganges, and encamped near the city; when Hybut Jung again viſited *Serdaur Khan. The two next days were choſen for the generals to pay their reſpects to him ſeparately, at the palace, and the navob, in order to obviate any fears they might have of treachery, commanded that only his domeſtic ſervants ſhould attend him, even to the excluſion of his uſual body guards. Serdaur Khan came the firſt day, and having received the cuſtomary tokens of eſteem, returned to his camp. The following morning Hybut Jung repaired to his hall of audience, to receive the promiſed viſit of Shumſheer Khan, and, as on the day before, would not permit any guards to attend, allowing only a few officers of his houſehold to be preſent. Firſt came nearly a thouſand of the Afghaun infantry, with matchlocks and matches lighted, who, after ſaluting, arranged themſelves in the ſquare of the palace. A chief, named Moraud Sheer Khan, next entered, with a crowd of officers, who filled the hall, and eagerly preſſed to preſent their offerings. This being done, Hybut Jung enquired after Shumſheer Khan, and was told he was not far off. Moraud Sheer Khan now ordered his companions to take leave, and make room for others. They roſe, and according to cuſtom, received each a betel from Hybut Jung, who was earneſt in diſtributing it, when one of the Afghauns, ſuddenly drawing a dagger, aimed a ſtroke at him, but without effect. One of the navob's attendants immediately cried out "Treachery;" but Hybut Jung had only time to draw his ſabre, when Moraud Sheer Khan cut him down, and he fell dead on the pillow of his muſnud. Several of his attendants were ſlain; and the palace being filled with the traitors, alſo the ſtreets of the city by the ſoldiers of Shumſheer Khan, no reſiſtance could be made by the dependants of Hybut Jung. The Afghauns committed great exceſſes in the town, the inhabitants of which had no remedy

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* It is ſaid, this chief was not a partner in the treaſon, as far as reſpected the aſſaſſination.

medy but to ſubmit to their authority. Shumſheer Khan ordered Hajee Ahmud to be brought before him, and demanded an account of his treaſure; but, declining a diſcovery, he was tortured in various modes for ſeventeen days, 'till at length he expired, not unjuſtly puniſhed for his treachery, and ſhare in the murder of the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. About [*] ſeventy lacs of rupees were found buried in his houſe, beſides jewels and other valuables to a great amount. The effects of Hybut Jung were ſeized, and his Begum Ameena, the daughter of Mahabut Jung, with his other women, forcibly carried to the camp of Shumſheer Khan; who, leaving the city under charge of his deputy, fixed his head quarters at a little diſtance, and engaged in raiſing new levies with the plunder he had acquired, intending to invade Bengal. The wealthy inhabitants of Patna were obliged to pay large ſums, to ſave their houſes from being plundered, and a heavy contribution was exacted from the people at large by the rebels.

Mahabut Jung, though inwardly deeply affected at the deaths of his brother and nephew, the diſgraceful captivity of his daughter, and the loſs of Bahar, threatened alſo with that of Bengal by the invaſion of the Mharattas at this alarming criſis, did not loſe his intrepidity of mind, but ſuſtained the ſtorms of calamity with manly reſolution, and prepared to combat the attacks of misfortune. He convened his principal officers, ſome of whom he had reaſon to ſuppoſe connected with the rebels, being of the ſame tribes, and deſired their advice for his conduct in the preſent unhappy juncture of his affairs. They unanimouſly declared, that they would loyally obey his commands. He replied, that his beloved brother and nephew being ſlain, and their families plunged in diſgraceful captivity, he found life, under

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[*] Seven hundred thouſand pounds.

ſuch misfortunes unrevenged, intolerable, therefore knew no remedy but to puniſh the rebels, or die in the attempt. If therefore any wiſhed to follow him to this extremity, he would ſpare nothing to reward them; but neither would he detain thoſe who might chuſe to quit his ſervice, having already received more obligations from them than he could repay; and as he had reſolved to ſeek death rather than lead a diſhonourable life, but few followers where neceſſary to enable him to obtain the former. The chiefs, one and all, exclaimed, "that they owed him inviolable gratitude for his long experienced bounty towards them, and had no views but to ſacrifice their lives if neceſſary in his ſervice;" to perform which, they bound themſelves by oath on the Koraun. Mahabut Jung, now convinced of their fidelity, paid up their arrears, and prepared to march againſt the rebels. The Mharattas by this time had advanced from Burdwan, and began to lay waſte within a ſhort diſtance from the capital; but the navob knowing that to follow theſe marauders, who always avoided coming to action, would be vain, and give time to the rebels in Bahar to gather ſtrength, was not to be diverted from his purpoſe. He ſtationed Sowlut Jung at Bogwaungolah, to preſerve the communication for ſupplies open between the Ganges and the city, which he entruſted to Shawamut Jung, Atta Oollah, and Nowauzuſh Mahummud Khan, with a body of five thouſand horſe. A proclamation was iſſued, that he found it neceſſary to march againſt the rebels, though the Mharattas were in the environs of the city; and, recommending, to ſuch as choſe it, to retire with their families to places of greater ſecurity, previous to his departure. Moſt of the inhabitants who could procure conveyance, accordingly moved with their families and effects acroſs the Ganges; ſo that ſcarce any but the ſoldiery and poor remained. Having finiſhed his preparations, he moved from Amaunee Gunge, with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and as many foot. In order to ſecure proviſions, he had collected a large fleet of boats, amply laden, to accompany his march up the banks of the Ganges. Meer Jaffier on this occaſion was again taken into favour, reſtored to command, and the office of paymaſter general.

Mahabut Jung reached Monghyr without oppoſition, except in a trifling ſkirmiſh with the Mharattas at Bhaugulpore, who had marched to join the rebels. Here a meſſenger was intercepted with letters from Atta Oollah Khan to the inſurgents, in which he encouraged them to ſtand, and offered to embrace their cauſe at a convenient opportunity. The navob was joined at Monghyr by ſome of the Bahar zemindars and dependants of the late Hybut Jung, who informed him, that the rebels had left Patna, and were encamped at Bar, in number about fifty thouſand horſe and foot, expecting to be joined by the Mharattas.

Janojee and Meer Hubbeeb having reached the vicinity of the rebels' camp, invited them to a conference, at which they embraced the ſervice of the Mharatta chief, and Shumſheer Khan was inveſted by him with the khelaut of the ſoubahdary of Bahar. The next day Meer Hubbeeb viſited Shumſheer Khan, who after his audience left him to repoſe, but privately directed the guard over the tents, when he ſhould prepare to return to his own camp, to detain him, as a ſecurity for the payment of the expenſes he had incurred in levying an army for the ſervice of the Mharattas, at whoſe inſtigation he pretended he had aſſaſſinated Hybut Jung. This ſcheme by ſome means coming to the knowledge of an attendant of Meer Hubbeeb, he directed ſome of the horſemen who had accompanied him, to leave the camp, but to return ſuddenly, as if purſued by an enemy, and ſpread an alarm that the navob's army was in ſight; in hopes that, by this ſtratagem, he might ſave his maſter from the intended treachery. The horſemen ſpread the alarm, as directed, and much confuſion occurred in the rebel's camp; but notwithſtanding the repreſentations of Meer Hubbeeb, that the preſent was no time for ſettling accounts, he was not allowed to depart till he had paid a conſiderable ſum, and given the ſecurity of merchants for a much greater. This diſpute proved highly favourable to Mahabut Jung, by preventing the Mharattas from acting in conjunction with the rebels, as the former now reſolved to watch only an opportunity for plundering either army. The following day the navob offered battle to the enemy, and, by his uſual good fortune, Serdaut Khan was killed by a matchlock ball in the beginning of the action, which involved one half of the rebels in confuſion, and ſpread alarm through the troops of Shumſheer Khan. At this juncture the Mharattas appeared in the rear, hoping to effect the plunder of the navob's camp, while he was engaged. Upon Serauje ad Dowlah's repreſenting that it was proper to detach a body to oppoſe them, he replied, "that he would firſt defeat his enemy in "front, and then with eaſe diſperſe the Mharattas." Having ſaid this, he charged the rebels with great fury, and they fled panic-ſtruck before him. Shumſheer Khan, being deſerted, was attacked on his elephant by an officer named Hubbeeb Beg, who ſlew him, and cutting off his head, brought it to Mahabut Jung. The Mharattas, ſeeing the defeat of the rebels, withdrew from the field without ſtriking a blow, and the navob quietly took poſſeſſion of the Afghaun camp; which they had left ſtanding, with all their tents and baggage, a prey to the victors. Here the navob found his daughter, the Begum of Hybut Jung, and the reſt of his family, who had been made priſoners at Patna. Having offered up thanks for this, on his ſide, almoſt bloodleſs victory, and the happy retrieval of his inſulted honour, he proceeded to Patna, where he diſtributed large ſums to the religious and poor, in gratitude to God for his ſucceſs, and

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meaſures for repairing the loſſes of government in the late rebellion. Having ſent for the women and children of the principal inſurgents from Derbunga, on their arrival he lodged them in his own haram, treating them with humanity and kindneſs, and after a ſhort time ſet them at liberty. At this time alſo, he permitted the women and family of Meer Hubbeeb, who had been confined ſince his joining the Mharattas, to return to him, and furniſhed them with money, conveyances, and an eſcort for their protection to the enemy's camp. Having reſettled the government of Bahar, he returned triumphantly to Moorſhudabad; but, previouſly to entering the city, obliged Atta Oollah Khan to quit it, and, as ſoon as poſſible, his dominions; permitting him, however, to remove with all his effects and nearly [a] ſeventy lacs of rupees, which he had acquired in his ſervice, though he had repeated proofs of his having conſpired againſt his life and government. Atta Oollah Khan retired into the province of Oude, and was ſoon afterwards ſlain, in an action in the ſervice of Suffder Jung againſt the Patans of Ferokhabad. Janojee, the Mharatta chief, after the defeat of Shumſheer Khan, not thinking himſelf equal to Mahabut Jung in the field, retired with his army into Midnapore; and ſoon after, on receiving intelligence of the death of his mother, marched to Nagpore, leaving Meer Hubbeeb with a detachment for the defence of Cuttac. The navob ſtationed a conſiderable body of troops at Burdwan, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Mahabut Jung, at the concluſion of the rains, moved again from his capital, in order to drive the Mharattas from Cuttac; and, on his approach, they evacuated the city. He followed them from place to place, during the dry ſeaſon, without being able to bring them to action; but on his return to Moorſhudabad A. H. 1160. A. D. 1747.

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[a] Seven hundred thouſand pounds.

abad, the enemy again obtained poſſeſſion of the province. Bengal was this year free from their depredations; a point, which the navob eſteemed an ample reward for the fatigues of his campaign. The next year he renewed his efforts, and the marauders evaded his purſuit as uſual; which made the navob reſolve to canton for the rains at Midnapore: but buildings were ſcarcely erected, when he received intelligence that Serauje ad Dowlah, his favourite grandſon, had left Moorſhudabad, with intentions of taking poſſeſſion of Patna, which was governed in his name by Jauneice Ram, and aſſuming independance.

Mahabut Jung, who loved his grandſon to diſtraction, was more alarmed for his ſafety in any oppoſition he might receive from the governor of Patna, than any ill conſequences to himſelf from the rebellion. He inſtantly left his army at Midnapore, and with a ſmall force haſtened to Moorſhudabad, where he remained only one day to refreſh his troops, and then followed the imprudent youth; to whom he wrote in terms of the greateſt affection, aſſuring him that he meant him for his ſucceſſor, and entreating him to return to his protection. Serauje ad Dowlah wrote an inſolent reply, in which he accuſed the navob of promoting his uncles to offices of truſt, and treating him only with pretended fondneſs; that he was weary of being controuled like a child; and, ſince he would not give him a ſhare in authority, he was reſolved to ſeize what he regarded as his juſt right. Therefore, he hoped his grandfather would not attempt to oppoſe him, as the conſequence muſt be, that either he would have his head in his boſom, or his own muſt be laid at the feet of the elephant of Mahabut Jung. The navob returned for anſwer, that Serauje ad Dowlah through imprudence and want of judgment had cauſeleſsly accuſed him of want of regard; for he not only intended him the ſucceſſion to his own dominions, but to the government of the empire, could

A. H. 1165.
A. D. 1751.

could he obtain it for him. He concluded his letter with the following ſentences. "The religious champion, eager for martyrdom, is unmindful that the martyr to love exceeds him. "In the laſt day they will not be compared together, for one "is ſlain by an enemy, but the other by a friend."

Serauje ad Dowlah, on his arrival near Patna, ſummoned the governor, Raja Jaunejee Ram, to deliver up the city and repair to his preſence; aſſuring him of favour in caſe of his obedience. The raja was at a loſs how to act, being fearful of ſurrendering his charge without orders from the navob, and alarmed, leſt any accident ſhould happen to Serauje ad Dowlah if he oppoſed him; but, at length, he reſolved on defending the city, till he ſhould hear from Mahabut Jung. The imprudent young man aſſaulted the town without delay; but Mhadee Niſſar Khan, the principal adviſer and leader of his rebellion, being killed early in the attack, his followers fled, and Serauje ad Dowlah with difficulty ſheltered himſelf in a houſe in the ſuburbs. The raja, rejoiced that he had eſcaped unhurt, immediately ſent ſome of his principal officers to attend him to a reſidence befitting his rank; and by the perſuaſions of his friends, he conſented to return to his grandfather. Mahabut Jung was overjoyed at his eſcape, and haſtened to meet him. Inſtead of reproaches, he received him with the greateſt affection, and a joy bordering on weakneſs, as it made Serauje ad Dowlah exert the influence he now ſaw he had over him, to his diſcredit and diſhonour. The navob, having ſpent a few days at Patna, returned with his grandſon to Mooꝛſhudabad; but was ſeized on the road by an intermitting fever, which continued long upon him. On his recovery, he marched againſt the Mharattas, who yet infeſted the province of Cuttac, and, as uſual, unable to bring them to a deciſive engagement, ſpent the dry months in purſuing them from place to place. The two following years were expended in the ſame deſultory warfare, when at length both parties, being tired of war, began equally to wiſh for an accommodation of their diſputes. Mahabat Jung yielded to the Mharattas the province of Cuttac, and agreed to pay annually twelve lacks of rupees, as the [*] choute of Bengal.

The navob, by this peace, being freed from all his enemies, gradually diſcharged his ſuperfluous troops, and employed himſelf in encouraging his people to rebuild the villages which had been deſtroyed, and cultivate the lands in many diſtricts, long waſte, from the deſertion of the inhabitants during the repeated invaſions. From this period we find nothing remarkable in his life, the remainder of his government being uninterrupted by viciſſitude. As he had choſen Serauje ad Dowlah for his ſucceſſor, he latterly entruſted him with a power, which was too often employed for the deſtruction of thoſe, againſt whom he had any pique, or was jealous of their attachment. Houſſein Koollee Khan and his brother, the favourites of his uncle Shawamut Jung, he aſſaſſinated, and put to death other perſons of rank, without being puniſhed by his grandfather; which acts of cruelty eſtranged from him the minds of the people, and prepared the way for his own future deſtruction.

A.D. 1755. In the year 1169 died Shawamut Jung, nephew to the navob, and ſon to Hajee Ahmud. He poſſeſſed many good qualities, and was much eſteemed by the people for his clemency, and charities to the friendleſs and poor. His death was ſpeedily followed by that of his brother Sowlut Jung, who had for many years governed the diſtrict of Poornea, with credit to himſelf and ſatisfaction to the inhabitants; his misfortune at Cuttac having corrected the warmth of his diſpoſition, and taught him prudence and humanity. Both theſe princes are well ſpoken of by the natives of Bengal, and their memory reſpected. Shawamut Jung died without iſſue; and Sowlut Jung left only one ſon, who ſucceeded him in his government, under the title of Shokut Jung; but was ſhortly depoſed and ſlain by his couſin Serauje ad Dowlah.

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[*] The Mharattas ſtill keep up this claim, but, ſince the death of Serauje ad Dowlah, it has not been paid.

Mahabut Jung did not long ſurvive the death of his nephews. In the eightieth year of his age, being ſeized with a dropſy, he ſubmitted for ſome days to the advice of his phyſicians; but finding himſelf growing worſe, and judging that at his time of life a recovery was not to be expected, refrained from medicine, and refuſed longer to follow any regimen. The expectations of his death cauſed great diſputes among his relations. His eldeſt daughter, Gooſeety Begum, widow of Shawamut Jung, retired with her treaſure, to *Mooteejeel, and diſtributed large ſums among the followers of her late huſband, in hopes that they would ſupport her againſt her nephew Serauje ad Dowlah on her father's demiſe. Such policy was only the influence of her declining fortune. When Mahabut Jung was in his laſt agonies, ſome of his women deſired he would recommend them to the care of his intended ſucceſſor; but the navob knowing his bad qualities, obſerved, ſmiling to them, "that if he for three days ſhould behave dutifully to his grandmother, then they might entertain hopes of his tenderneſs." Shortly after this, he departed to the divine mercy, on the ninth of Rejib, 1169, A. D. 1756.
after a government of ſixteen years over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. He was buried the following night, near the tomb of his mother in the garden of Khooſh Baug.

" Thou

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* A country palace near Moorſhudabad. The principal building ſtands in a piece of water called Mootee Jeel, or Pearl-lake. It was erected by Shawamut Jung, and is a ſtately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble, brought from the ruins of Gour or Lucnowty, the ancient capital of Bengal.

“ Thou didſt guide him, O Lord, for he was among thy ſervants. O forgive him his offences, for thou art moſt merciful.”

Mahabut Jung from his early youth was not addicted to idle pleaſures, as wine, or [*] opiates, muſic, or the company of courtezans. He was regular in his devotions, and aſſiduouſly abſtained from all things forbidden by the divine law. He generally roſe two hours before day, and after ablution and prayer, drank coffee with his ſelect companions. At day break he gave public audience, when the commanders of his army, the civil officers, and perſons of all ranks who had any applications to make, were admitted without reſerve to ſet forth their buſineſs, and received ſatisfaction from his bounty. At the expiration of two hours he retired to a private apartment, where ſuch only as were invited came. Theſe were generally his nephews Shawamut Jung and Sowlut Jung, his grandſon Serauje ad Dowlah, and particular friends. Pieces of poetry were now recited, or hiſtory or anecdotes read to him; and ſometimes he even amuſed himſelf with giving directions to his cooks, who prepared victuals before him according to his palate. The officers of different departments, if neceſſary, alſo came for orders. He then ſat down to eat with his friends, and many ſhared the bounties of his table. When the meal was over the company retired to repoſe. At this time, a ſtory-teller always attended to relate ſome amuſing narrative. He generally roſe about an hour after mid-day, performed his devotions, and read in the Koraun till near four. After ſaying the prayers for that time, and drinking a draught of water cooled with ice or ſaltpetre, he received ſeveral learned men, in whoſe company he daily ſpent an hour, hearing them diſcuſs points of divinity and law for his informaation. When they retired, the officers of the revenue, with Juggutt Seet, his banker, were admitted, and gave him the intelligence received from Dhely and every province of the empire, alſo of each diſtrict of his own government, when he iſſued his orders to them as affairs required. An hour paſſed in this manner, and ſometimes his near relations were allowed to be preſent. By this time night ſet in, lights were brought, and with them certain jeſters and buffoons, who entertained him with their repartees on each other for a ſhort time. He then retired to prayers; after which he ſat in privacy with his own Begum, to receive the viſits of near female relations, till nine o'clock. The women then departed, and men were admitted who had buſineſs with him, till he retired to ſleep, generally early, and without eating. In this manner he paſſed his time, having ſtated hours for every employment. He was unequalled in his benevolence to his relations, friends, and former acquaintance in his lower fortunes, particularly to thoſe who had ſhewn him the ſmalleſt kindneſs when he was diſtreſſed at Dhely in his youth, ſending for them or their children to his court, and conferring favours upon them beyond their expectation. The people at large during his life experienced ſuch care and ſatisfaction from his gentle adminiſtration, as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent; while at the ſame time the loweſt of his officers grew rich in his ſervice. He was intelligent in all affairs, and encouraged the deſerving of every profeſſion. Affable in manners, wiſe in ſtate affairs, courageous as a general, he poſſeſſed alſo every noble quality. When the French general, Mr. Buſſy, after the death of [a] Naſir Jung, wrote to him in pompous terms of his victory, and recommended the factory of [b] Chandernagore to his protection, he reflected upon the ſimilarity of diſpoſition between his intended ſucceſſor, Serauje ad Dowlah, whoſe enmity to the Engliſh he was appriſed of, and the unfortunate ſoubahdar of

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[*] Commonly uſed in India to intoxicate.

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[a] Naſir Jung was Nizam of Dekkan. He was ſurprized and ſlain in a conſpiracy of his nobles, aſſiſted by the French, in the year 1755.

[b] Belonging to the French in Bengal.

Dekkan; at the ſame time ſaying, "He feared that after his death the Europeans would become maſters of many parts of Hindooſtan." Muſtapha Khan, his principal general, had endeavoured to prevail upon him to expell the Engliſh from Calcutta, and ſeize their wealth; but receiving no anſwer to his advice, urged it again, through the nabob's nephews, Sowlut Jung and Shawamut Jung. Mahabut Jung returned no anſwer, but ſhortly after ſaid in private to the latter, "My child, Muſtapha Khan is a ſol- " dier, and wiſhes us to be conſtantly in need of his ſervice; " but how came you to join in his requeſt? What have the " Engliſh done againſt me, that I ſhould uſe them ill? It is " now difficult to extinguiſh fire on land; but [*]ſhould the ſea " be in flames, who can put them out? Never liſten to ſuch " advice as his, for the conſequences would be fatal."

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[*] An alluſion to the fleet.

SERAUJE

SERAUJE AD DOWLAH.

SERAUJE ad Dowlah, after the cuſtomary mourning, having aſſumed the muſnud of his grandfather without oppoſition, ſent a party of his troops to remove Gooſeety Begum, his aunt, from the palace of Mooteejeel to a place of ſecurity, and to confiſcate her effects. Her adherents, who had received large ſums from her to oppoſe his acceſſion, deſerted her immediately on the death of Mahabut Jung, except a few, who alſo were ſo alarmed when the palace was ſurrounded, as to be incapable of reſiſtance. Meer Nuzzer Ali, who had been her chief adviſer and confidant, having bribed the officers of the party to make his peace with the navob, left the Begum, whoſe perſon was confined and her treaſures ſeized. Serauje ad Dowlah diſplaced many of the officers of government, and filled their places with young men, the companions of his pleaſures. He treated the ſervants of the late navob, moſtly perſons advanced in years, with ſuch ſlight and diſreſpect, as gave them great offence, and eſtranged them from his intereſt. Not long after his acceſſion, he marched towards Raujemahal, with a deſign to diſpoſſeſs his couſin Shokut Jung of the province of Poornea; but was diverted from his purpoſe, by information that Kiſhen Boollub, ſon of Raujeboollub, dewan of Shawamut Jung, had fled to Calcutta, and was protected by the Engliſh, Mr. Drake, the governor, having refuſed to deliver him up at the demand of the navob's officers. Upon this he returned ſuddenly to the capital of Moorſhudabad.

Serauje ad Dowlah, in whoſe brain the vapour of pride had ariſen, and made him wander far from the path of caution and forbearance, having reſolved on quarelling with the Engliſh, was tortured with the fire of impatience. The companions and old ſervants of Mahabut Jung durſt not breathe a remonſtrance in his preſence; and many, from the degradation they had undergone and the advancement of low perſons, wiſhed the overthrow of his power; ſo that no one gave him proper advice, nor did he aſk it. Thoſe who were his counſellors and favourites, were moſtly raſh, and weak of underſtanding, unacquainted with the rules of policy, and infatuated with their ſudden promotion; or, regarding oppoſition to his will as deſtructive to their own intereſt, did not dare to contradict him. Serauje ad Dowlah was a weak man, void of uſeful qualities, and intoxicated with youth and proſperity. The probable conſequences of any meaſure entered not into his mind; and the hearts of the men of underſtanding about him were inflamed with diſguſt at his unreaſonable fury, or the diſpute with the Engliſh might have been ſettled eaſily by negotiation. There was no cauſe for kindling the flames of war; but as providence had decreed the downfall of the family of Mahabut Jung, and other great calamities, the reins of government over Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, which form an extenſive empire, fell into the hands of two weak and tyrannical youths, Serauje ad Dowlah and Shokut Jung, who in the end ſuffered for their crimes.

To proceed; Serauje ad Dowlah in the beginning of Ramzaun marched towards Calcutta; and the Engliſh, who had no force to oppoſe him in the field, retired into their factory to defend themſelves. Their outpoſts were ſoon taken by the navob, who had a great army; and Mr. Drake, the governor, being ſtruck with a panic at the ſtate of his affairs, ſaw ſafety only in flight. Without informing the whole of his countrymen of his intention, he fled to a ſhip with a few perſons. The remainder, out of regard to their honour, fought while they had any ammunition, preferring death to diſgraceful life, and drank the ſherbet of diſſolution with heroic valour. Some being overcome, fell priſoners into the hand of providence. An invaluable treaſure of money and effects was plundered from the warehouſes of the Company, the Engliſh, Hindoo, and Armenian merchants, by the ſoldiers and followers of the camp; but Serauje ad Dowlah acquired nothing from his conqueſt, but the ſeeds of his deſtruction. Having remained a few days at Calcutta, he returned to the capital, leaving the command of the place to Manneck Chund, dewan of the Raja of Burdwan, a weak and cowardly perſon, who had given proof of his treachery by deſerting Mahabut Jung when he was ſurrounded by the Mharattas.

Soon after the conqueſt of Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah marched againſt his couſin Shokut Jung, the fojedaur of *Poorneah, whom he reduced with little oppoſition, and acquired a great acceſſion of treaſure and territory by his victory. He returned triumphantly to his capital; but his fortune was now at the higheſt. It is the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of this world, that when any thing has reached the point of perfection, it begins to decay, and finally becomes annihilated; ſo as to leave not a trace for enquiry behind it. An inſtance of this truth, and the cauſe of Serauje ad Dowlah's ruin, may be ſeen in the following pages.

Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, having eſcaped on board a ſhip with ſome gentlemen, retired to Madraſs, and other Engliſhmen, employed in merchandiſe in various parts of Bengal, alſo found means to eſcape from the country. At this time, colonel Clive commanded the company's forces in the

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* A conſiderable diviſion of Bengal.

province of Arcot, which he had reſcued from the hands of the French. It was agreed by the government of Madraſs, that he ſhould repair with a force to Bengal, and endeavour to regain the factory of Calcutta, either by force, or payment of a ſum of money. Being arrived with his troops in the river, he caſt anchor; and as the chiefs of the Engliſh are very cautious, wiſe, and valiant, having ſent propoſals of accommodation to Seraujе ad Dowlah, he entreated his forgiveneſs of Mr. Drake's faults, and offered ſome lacs of rupees, on condition of being allowed to occupy the factory as formerly. Seraujе ad Dowlah was the moſt inconſiderate of men, and his miniſters were weak, and ignorant of the valour and abilities of the Engliſh. The intelligent had no power of offering their advice, and the chief men of the country wiſhed his ruin, wearied out with his oppreſſions. If any one did offer an opinion contrary to the navob's, he and his fooliſh companions, intoxicated with conceit, treated it ſo diſdainfully as to make him repent, and reſolve on ſilence in future. No anſwer was returned, and at length[*] colonel Clive, tired of delay, and having obtained information of the characters of the rulers of Bengal, reſolved on war. He anchored his ſhips oppoſite the reſidence of Manneck Chund, and began to play his artillery, which cauſing confuſion among the enemy, he landed his forces, and attacked them. Manneck Chund, unable to reſiſt, fled with his army, and the colonel, having taken poſſeſſion of the factory and town, exalted the ſtandards of victory. Seraujе ad Dowlah, upon intelligence of this, was awakened a little from his ſlumber of conceit, and prepared to march and puniſh the Engliſh.

Seraujе ad Dowlah had ſpent two months and twenty two days in the enjoyment of pleaſure, when at once, the meaſure

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[*] The author makes no mention of Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive being conſidered by the natives as chief of the Engliſh.

November, A. D. 1756.

of his crimes being full, the ſigns of his downfal appeared. On Monday the twelfth of Rubby al Sani, 1170, he marched from his capital towards Calcutta, and having encamped in the vicinity of that city, ſome days paſſed in ſkirmiſhing with the enemy. The Engliſh opened a negotiation, with a view to find out the ſtate of his army, having intentions of attempting a ſurprize by night. Under pretence of a meſſage to Serauje ad Dowlah, they ſent [a] two perſons of their own nation, poſſeſſed of the qualities of valour, quick perception, memory, and judgment, who having obſerved the ſituation of the navob's tents, might commit particulars to the treaſury of their remembrance; and they well performed their commiſſion. I forget whether it was the ſame night, or one or two after, that the Engliſh, being ready for the attack, embarked a body of their troops in boats, and proceeded cautiouſly up the river to the ſkirts of the camp, where they waited till about half an hour before day. Then, having entered in the rear of the line, they marched on firing without intermiſſion, while thoſe who remained in the boats did the ſame as they fell down the river. Great ſlaughter was made among the troops of the navob. Doſte Mahummud Khan, a general of rank and merit, was wounded. It was reported, that the Engliſh intended if poſſible to carry off Serauje ad Dowlah priſoner; but at this time a thick fog covered the camp, which rendered it hard to diſtinguiſh perſons cloſe to each other, ſo that they miſſed the quarter of his tents, and marched another way, the navob by this accident eſcaping captivity. The Engliſh regained the town in ſafety. Serawje ad Dowlah and his cowardly army, from the alarm of this night, to them a ſymbol of the laſt day, loſt the powers of their minds, which were overwhelmed with terror and affright. Judging it dangerous to remain longer ſo near the city, the navob ſummoned his father in law, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, and

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[a] Meſſrs. Watts and Scrafton.

other chiefs, to conſult on future proceedings; who, obſerving his terror, adviſed the removal of the camp to a greater diſtance, and to offer terms of accommodation, which counſel was immediately executed. The Engliſh, ſeeing the alarms of the navob, now demanded a compenſation for their effects plundered by his army when he took Calcutta; which, after much negotiation, was agreed to, and Serauje ad Dowlah gave up ſix diſtricts in the vicinity of the factory, as a ſecurity till the ſum ſettled ſhould be paid up. A treaty having been ratified and all affairs ſettled, through the medium of Mr. Watts, Serauje ad Dowlah returned to Mooriſhudabad, and now reflected upon what in the days of his pride he had never conſidered. He trembled for his ſituation, and was irreſolute how to regulate his conduct. Having become aſhamed and repentant of ſome of his vices, he at length found out that there was a God. Doſte Mahummud Khan had retired for the cure of his wounds to Saſſaram; Meer Jaffier Khan, Raja Doolubram, and other old officers, he found diſaffected to his perſon, and wiſhed to extinguiſh the flames of their diſloyalty, but knew not how to effect it. He had no reſolution of his own, or might either have bound them to his intereſt by a renewal of favour and kindneſs, or have put them to death, and raiſed up miniſters capable of conducting the affairs of his government. He had no adviſers free from ſelf-intereſt to perſuade him to employ the experienced ſervants of Mahabut Jung in preference to themſelves, or of ſenſe to know that from his proſperity theirs would alſo be derived. From theſe reaſons, he would at one time, when enraged with paſſion, order cannon to be planted againſt the houſe of Meer Jaffier Khan, or command Doolubram to obey his favourite, Moun Laal, or treat Juggutt Seet with contemptuous threats.

At this time, the Engliſh having taken the factory of Chandernagore from the French, Mr. Law, with a band of ſoldiers and ſome artillery, having eſcaped from the enemy, ſought protection at Moorſhudabad, and offered his ſervices to Serauje ad Dowlah, who readily received him. Upon this the Engliſh, either at the inſtigation of the diſaffected chiefs, or of their own accord, repreſented through their agent, that as there was a treaty ſubſiſting between them and the navob; by the articles of which the friends or enemies of either party were to be conſidered as ſuch by both, he acted contrary to it by receiving the French, with whom they were at war. The navob adviſed with Mr. Law how to act; who obſerved, that if indeed he aſſiſted his nation againſt the Engliſh company in the field, it would be a breach of treaty; but that it could he none for him, who entertained thouſands of every caſt, if he kept a few Frenchmen alſo in his ſervice. An anſwer ſimilar to this was conveyed to the Engliſh, who, however, renewed their remonſtrances at the inſtigation of the diſaffected; and theſe perſons under pretence of regard to his welfare, obſerved, that to quarrel with the Engliſh for the ſake of a few diſtreſſed Frenchmen was unwiſe, and would occaſion much confuſion. At length, Serauje ad Dowlah commanded Mr. Law to retire to Patna. Mr. Law at taking leave told him, that moſt of his chiefs were diſaffected to his perſon, and leagued with the Engliſh in intentions to depoſe him, which was the cauſe of adviſing his diſmiſſion; that on his departure they would ſet him at variance with the Engliſh and deſtroy him, which they could not effect while he remained to aſſiſt him. Serauje ad Dowlah felt the truth of his obſervation, but was too timid to keep him at his capital. He promiſed to recall him when neceſſary; but Mr. Law ſaid, "I know we ſhall never meet again." After his departure, the navob's diſputes with Meer Jaffier, Doolubram, and other chiefs, aroſe to greater heights, inſomuch that they, with Juggutt Seet, being in fear of their lives, reſolved, in order to ſave themſelves, to effect his deſtruction. Gooſeety Begum alſo, who hated Serauje ad Dowlah, and was irritated at his ſeizure of her treaſures and eſtates, uſed every means to excite the reſentment of her friends againſt him, and to procure their aſſiſtance for Meer Jaffier, whom ſhe alſo ſupplied with large ſums of money, which ſhe had ſecreted by means of her eunuchs and female attendants.

Meer Mahummud Jaffier Khan and the other chiefs agreed, that the ſureſt method of depoſing Serauje ad Dowlah, would be to excite the Engliſh againſt him. With this view, Juggutt Seet employed his agent, Ameen Chund, a principal merchant of Calcutta, Doolubram ſome other perſon, and Jaffier Khan, Ameer Beg, who had ſome connection with the Engliſh, to whom he had been of ſervice when their factory was taken. Theſe perſons repreſented the outrageous conduct of the navob to their principals, and the general deſire of the provinces for his removal. They even produced a written requeſt to the Engliſh, that they would march for this purpoſe, and, by a little trouble, deliver a world from tyranny and oppreſſion, for which they ſhould receive *three corores of rupees, and other favours. The particulars of the navob's cruelties to Gooſeety Begum and others, were alſo diſplayed, and the paper was atteſted under the ſeals of thoſe perſons who ſuffered injuries.

The Engliſh, who are unequalled in valour and ſentiment, (and who is it that does not wiſh for conqueſt?) upon intelligence of theſe circumſtances, determined on war with Serauje ad Dowlah; but as it is their cuſtom, and indeed of every wiſe people, not to break with any one without a reaſon aſſigned, doubtleſs they gave one to him, of which I am not informed. It was,

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* Three millions ſterling.

was, moſt probably, that of his delay in payment of money ſettled by treaty for the loſſes at the capture of Calcutta.

War being reſolved on, colonel Clive, known here by the title of Sabut Jung, prepared to march; upon intelligence of which, Serauje ad Dowlah, overwhelmed with dread, tried, when too late, to reconcile his dependants, who pretended to be attached to his perſon, the better to cover their own deſigns. He diſpatched Doolubram, with the greateſt part of his army, to throw up intrenchments at Plaſſey; but he ſpent his time in ſecret negotiations with the Engliſh, and ſecuring the troops in his own intereſt and that of Jaffier Ali Khan; who, renewing his attendance at the durbar, and apparently reconciled to Serauje ad Dowlah, found means, by promiſes and other methods, to draw over moſt of the officers about the navob's perſon to his deſigns, ſo that very few remained loyal. Upon intelligence of colonel Clive's having begun his march from Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah reluctantly, his heart divided with hope and terror, moved from Munſoor Gunge to Plaſſey, where the Engliſh, at the utmoſt not exceeding three thouſand men, natives and Europeans, ſhortly arrived. On Thurſday, the fifth of Showaul, 1170, the flames of battle were lighted up. As A. D. 1756. Europeans, and the Engliſh in particular, are celebrated for the ſkilful management of artillery, colonel Clive began his attack with a cannonade, ſo unremitted and inſtantaneous, as confounded the ſight of his oppoſers, and overcame their faculties of hearing. Meer Jaffier Khan and his aſſociates in treachery beheld the enemy at a diſtance, ſafe from injury; but Meer Muddun and others, ready to ſacrifice their lives or acquire victory, bravely oppoſed the enemy. They were, however, unable to charge from the violence of the cannonade, but kept reſolutely, though ſlowly, advancing, till at length they gained the Grove of Plaſſey; and, it is ſaid, that colonel Clive, not expecting ſuch reſiſtance, abuſed Ameen Chund and accuſed him of treachery, ſaying, "that he had repreſented the army of " Serauje ad Dowlah as diſaffected to his perſon, but now the " contrary appeared from their valiant oppoſition." Ameen Chund replied, "that the preſent enemy was only Meer Muddun and a few chiefs, who were faithful to the navob; but " when he was routed, the truth of his repreſentations would " appear." During this converſation, as revenge was decreed for the crimes of Serauje ad Dowlah, Meer Muddun, who was truly brave, and cheriſhed the ſeeds of fidelity in his heart, received a mortal wound from a cannon ball. He was carried immediately to the navob, and having uttered a few words expreſſive of his loyalty, reſigned his ſoul to the Creator of life. Serauje ad Dowlah by his loſs was involved in deſpair. Having ſent for Meer Jaffier, who refuſed for ſome time to obey the ſummons, the navob in abject terms beſought his protection; and, I have heard, that taking the turban from his own head, he placed it at the feet of Jaffier, ſaying, "I now " truly repent of my behaviour towards you, and offer your " obligations to Mahabut Jung, my grandfather, and our re" lationſhip, as interceſſions for your forgiveneſs. I now regard " you as holding his place, and beſeech for pardon to your " ſlave, conjuring you to act as becomes your character as a " deſcendant from the prophet, and your ancient obligations, in " defending my life and reputation." Meer Jaffier Khan, judging this a fit opportunity to complete his treachery, adviſed, that as but little of the day was remaining, the troops ſhould be recalled to their tents, and promiſed in the morning to repulſe the enemy. Serauje ad Dowlah urged his fears of another night attack; but Jaffier aſſuring him he would guard againſt it, he ſent orders to his dewan Moin Laal, who had accompanied Meer Muddun and was ſtill engaging the enemy, to return to the camp. The dewan ſent for anſwer, that the preſent

ſent was not a time for retreat, for, if he ſhould retire, alarm would ſpread among the troops, who would probably fly in confuſion. The navob a ſecond time adviſed with Jaffier Khan, who inſiſted on the retreat of the dewan, or he would not act; upon which he repeated his orders, and Moin Laal reluctantly obeyed.

When a man's ill fortune prevails, he does that which he ſhould not. The troops, as had been foreſeen, conſtruing the return to camp into defeat, began to fly in great numbers. Serauje ad Dowlah ſeeing this deſertion, much alarmed by the enemy in front, but much more apprehenſive of thoſe about his perſon, at length left the camp, about half an hour before ſunſet, and arrived early the next morning at Munſoor Gunge. Here, though he beſought his attendants to remain with him till he could prepare for eſcape, and fix on ſome proper place of refuge, he could not prevail, but was deſerted by numbers. Even his wife's father, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, though the navob begged him to ſtay and collect troops, either to defend him where he was, or accompany him in his retreat, refuſed, and haſtened to his own houſe at the city of Moorſhudabad. As a laſt reſource, the navob opened the doors of his treaſury, and diſtributed large ſums to the ſoldiers, who received his bounty and deſerted with it to their homes. An immenſe ſum was thus, to him unprofitably, expended. He was ungenerous when he ſhould have been liberal, and oppreſſive to mankind, and now ſaw the conſequences of his crimes, ſuffering in his own perſon for the calamities he had inflicted upon others. Having remained till night at Munſoor Gunge, and finding himſelf almoſt deſerted by all, he took with him his jewels and ſome other valuables upon elephants, and with Lootf al Niſſa Begum, and two or three favourite women in covered carriages, quitted his palace about three in the morning,

and

and haſtened to Bogwaungolah, where he embarked upon the Ganges, with the deſign of ſeeking refuge in the fort of Patna. In this proceeding he was alſo imprudent; for, had he kept the land, and called the jemmautdars of the villages to his aſſiſtance, they would have eſcorted him in ſafety, in hopes of being rewarded, and he would have been joined by numbers of his troops, when recovered of their panic and hearing of his eſcape; but, alas! who can remedy the ills of fate? His reaſon for flying by water, was the hope of meeting Mr. Law, to whom he had written preſſingly to haſten to his aſſiſtance, on the firſt intelligence of the march of the Engliſh, and to come down the river for the greater ſpeed. Mr. Law received the letter, but, according to the uſual delay in Hindooſtan, before he could procure from Ramnarain the money ordered for his expenſes, ſome time elapſed. He left Patna, but hearing of the defeat and death of Serauje ad Dowlah, on reaching Raujemahal, he retreated, and major Coote was afterwards ſent in purſuit of him to the frontiers of the provinces.

When Meer Jaffier found that fortune had favoured his deſigns, by the retreat of Serauje ad Dowlah, he remained at Plaſſey, and had an interview with colonel Clive, with whom and the Engliſh troops he the next day entered Moorſhudabad, and iſſued proclamations of ſafety to the inhabitants in his own name. His partners in conſpiracy, and thoſe who, loving quiet, were attached to no party, haſtened to preſent congratulations and offerings; and ſuch as did not approve his conduct and were ſecretly attached to Serauje ad Dowlah, (they were but few) not chuſing to be ſingular, through fear did the ſame. Having ſeated himſelf on the muſnud of the provinces, he ſounded high the trumpet of power and exultation, and employed himſelf in ſettling affairs and dividing the treaſures of the palace, as had been agreed, between himſelf, Raja Doolubram, and the Engliſh. As he was ambitious of copying Mahabut Jung, he aſſumed the ſame titles on his ſeals, and conferred thoſe of that navob's relations on his own. He diſpatched his ſon in law Meer Cauſim Khan in purſuit of Serauje ad Dowlah, and iſſued orders to Meer Daood, the commandant of Raujemahal, to be vigilant in preventing his eſcape from the province. The unfortunate fugitive, being arrived on the bank oppoſite to Raujemahal, and with his women preſſed by hunger, after a faſt of two days, diſembarked at the cell of a devotee, named Dana Shaw, of whom he aſked help in procuring victuals. To this man, in the days of power, he had offered ſome affront, the memory of which ſtill dwelt upon his mind. The fakeer received him courteouſly, and provided food, but privately diſpatched information of his important gueſt to Meer Daood, who, with Meer Cauſim, haſtened to the cell, and took him priſoner, with his women and effects. Serauje ad Dowlah now entreated for life of thoſe men, who had lately trembled at his name, and ſuffered their reproaches. He begged to be allowed a moderate income and a retired dwelling. Meer Cauſim Khan obtained by threats and promiſes a caſket of jewels from the Begum to an immenſe amount, and each of the captors a valuable booty. The dewan Moin Laal had before this been ſeized at Moorſhudabad, and his effects and life were taken by Doolubram. On Sunday, the fifteenth of Showaul, Serauje ad Dowlah arrived, a diſgraced captive in the hands of his ſervants, at Moorſhudabad. When the people beheld him in this ſituation, they forgot his vices, and recollected only the hardſhip of his preſent fortune, comparing it with the ſplendour they had ſeen him ſurrounded with from his infancy till now. It is ſaid, that ſeveral jemmautdars, as he paſſed their quarters, were ſo penetrated with grief and anger as to prepare to reſcue him, but were prevented by their ſuperiors, who had expectations of reward from his rival; ſo that the virtue of the weak of no effect. Meer Jaffier was at this time at Munſoor Gunge, but his ſon Meeraun at Moorſhudabad. This young man ſurpaſſed his father in every evil quality, never heſitating to ſhed blood. He regarded readineſs to puniſh as good policy, and mercy as folly. With ſuch ideas he was fond of comparing himſelf to Mahabut Jung. He ordered Serauje ad Dowlah to be confined and put to death; but no perſon of rank would undertake the murder. At length, a wretch named Mahummuddy Beg, who from his infancy had been cheriſhed by Mahabut Jung and Serauje ad Dowlah, from whoſe grandmother he had received a portion with his wife from charity, offered to execute the horrid deed. When the unfortunate navob ſaw him approach his perſon, he ſaid, “ Art thou come to kill me?” and, upon receiving a reply in the affirmative, began to pray; then ſuddenly exclaimed, “ Will not they let me live ſomewhere in obſcurity? No, no, it cannot be; I muſt be ſacrificed for the murder of Houſſein Koollee Khan.” The aſſaſſin now inflicted ſeveral wounds, and the navob falling down, cried, “ It is enough, my taſk is over, and revenge is finiſhed.” Having ſaid thus, he reſigned his ſoul to the Creator, and left this world of crimes by the ſword of cruelty. His body was placed upon an elephant, and carried through the city, expoſed to the populace. It is ſaid, that the driver of the elephant, by accident ſtopping at the ſpot where Serauje ad Dowlah had aſſaſſinated * Houſſein Koollee Khan, ſome drops of blood fell from the body upon the ſame ground.

“ Be warned by example, O ye men of underſtanding, and “ view well the revolutions of fortune. Place not your reliance “ upon the world's ſucceſs, for it is uncertain and inconſtant, “ like a publick ſinger, who goes daily from houſe to houſe. “ Give not thy affection to a damſel, who every day changes her “ gallant.

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* A near relation of his own.

" gallant. In the eye of the wiſe, fortune is as chaff, blown
" about by every wind. Didſt thou poſſeſs the treaſures of the
" world, what thou haſt expended in benevolence will alone
" profit thee."

When the corpſe of the navob approached the reſidence of his afflicted mother, gueſſing the diſaſter from the clamour of the populace, ſhe burſt from her apartments, and ran into the ſtreet, beating her breaſt, but was forced back with blows, by order of Khadim Houſſein Khan, who ſat upon the terrace of his houſe to view the expoſure of the body of his lord's ſon. Jaffier Khan was aſleep when the unfortunate priſoner had arrived, and did not wake till after the murder, when being informed of his coming, he ſent to his ſon, commanding him to be careful of his perſon. Meeraun, on receiving the order, laughed, and ſaid, " I am not ſo weak as to be neglectful in " ſuch affairs;" and to his companions he vauntingly exclaimed, " My father juſt now ſent, but I had before completed " the affair, for am I not, my friends, ſon to the ſiſter of " Mahabut Jung? How then could I be careleſs upon ſuch an " occaſion?"

MEER

MEER JAFFIER KHAN.

MEER Jaffier having thus become navob of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhortly after his acceſſion prepared to march towards Patna, having ſome doubts of the ſubmiſſion of Ramnarain, the deputy governor of that city; and alſo to quell ſome diſorders which had broken out in the diſtrict of Poorneah from the rebellion of ſome principal dependants of the late fojedaur, Shokut Jung. In the month of Suffir, of the year 1171, he moved to his camp, leaving his ſon Meeraun in the direction of affairs at Moorſhudabad. Here, having ſome ſuſpicions of Meerza Mhadee, brother of Serauje ad Dowlah, he commanded him to be put to death. Some report, that he was diſpatched by poiſon, and others, that he was preſſed to death between two boards uſed to tighten bales of ſhawls. The cauſe of this action was the diſaffection of Raja Doolubram, who now repented of having eſpouſed the cauſe of Meer Jaffier, and was privately conſpiring to reſcue Meerza Mhadee from confinement and declare him ſoubahdar, not having been rewarded for his late treachery, as he expected.

A. D. 1757.

Upon Meer Jaffier's arrival at Raujemahal, having appointed Khadim Houſſein Khan fojedaur of Poorneah, he diſmiſſed him to reſtore order in that diſtrict, which was effected with little oppoſition, the rebels being deſerted by their adherents at the ſight of his army. Ramnarain, upon the approach of the navob towards Patna, unwilling to truſt his promiſes of ſafety for his perſon and continuance in employment, endeavoured to obtain the ſupport of the Engliſh; for which purpoſe he diſpatched his agent Geeda Mul to procure aſſurances of protection from colonel Clive, before he would agree to viſit the navob. Geeda Mul repreſented to the navob, that his maſter was fearful of viſiting him without the ſecurity of the Engliſh, to which Meer Jaffier readily agreed. The vaqueel having gained over the ſecretary, prepared a paper, and brought it for the approbation of the navob, who being at that time ſomewhat intoxicated, would not read himſelf, but ordered his ſecretary to tell him the contents, which he did in a ſlight manner, and varying from the ſpirit. The navob being ſatisfied, ſent the paper to colonel Clive, requeſting that he would copy and ratify it with his ſeal, which he did, and kept the draft. The contents of the paper were in theſe words: "You may come with ſafety and ſatisfaction of mind. "The ſecurity of your perſon, honour, fortune, and continu-"ance in employ, without ſettling your accounts, reſts upon "me." Geeda Mul haſted upon the wings of ſpeed to Ramnarain, who repaired without heſitation to the navob's camp; where, however, he viſited firſt colonel Clive, who ſent an officer of rank to introduce him to Meer Jaffier. The navob was offended at his diſreſpect in not coming firſt to him, and commanded him to remain in the camp, which he did, till the arrival of the army at the city of Patna.

Meer Jaffier upon his arrival at Patna was viſited by all the reſpectable inhabitants, to pay their allegiance upon his acceſſion to the ſoubahdary, and among them were many, who having formerly lived with him on terms of intimate equality, hoped to ſhare the advantages of his exaltation, but were moſtly diſappointed, by a cool reception. Among theſe was Meerza Shumſe ad Dien, who, in the days of his diſtreſs, had aſſiſted him with a ſum of money, and now hoped to have it repaid, and to enjoy the favour of the navob; who, however, aſſumed towards him a diſtant behaviour, fearful, as the Meerza was a man of wit, and free of ſpeech, that he might aſſume too much upon their former intimacy. One day it happened, notwithſtanding, that Shumle ad Dien being admitted to his preſence, was going to ſpeak, when the navob, expecting a reproach, ſaid, “ I have not for- “ gotten your former kindneſs, which I mean to repay; but at “ preſent the expenſes of the Engliſh army and other contingen- “ cies are ſo great, it is not in my power. When God ſhall give “ me ability and opportunity, I will not be unmindful of your “ obligations.” The Meerza, pretending feelings of compaſſion, ſaid with a ſobbing accent, “ No more, my Lord, I am ſtruck “ with your ſufferings; but, alas! Serauje ad Dowlah plundered “ my houſe, or I ſhould now have eſteemed contributing to “ your relief as an honour.” Meer Jaffier was womaniſhly fond of jewels, of which he always wore great numbers in his higher fortunes. On this day, his neck, arms, wriſts, and turban were more richly ornamented than uſual, and the Meerza wittily ſaid, “ To be ſure, theſe few ſtones about your perſon are not of “ any great value to any one; but I ſhould think a blow from “ one of your highneſs's hands as an honour and ſatisfaction.” Again, ſome enemy of the Meerza's informed the navob, that his attendants had picked a quarrel with thoſe of colonel Clive, who was much offended; and the Meerza coming in ſoon after, Meer Jaffier reproved him, ſaying, “ Know you not the rank “ of the colonel, that your people ſhould dare to inſult any of “ his friends?” The Meerza, putting on a look of ſubmiſſion, exclaimed, “ My patron, how dare I even look the colonel in “ the face with ſteadineſs, who every morning of my life make “ three obeiſances to his *aſs.” Meer Jaffier was ſilent, and pretended not to underſtand the meaning.

After

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* Alluding to Meer Jaffier's being ſupported by the colonel.

After ſome days ſpent in ceremony and entertainments, Meer Jaffier, who intended conferring the government of Patna upon his brother Cauzim Khan, demanded from Ramnarain an account of his diſburſements, and the balance of revenue due to government; but the wily Hindoo, who had, expecting this demand, ſecured the protection of the Engliſh, complained to colonel Clive, who repreſented it to the navob as a breach of faith. The navob replied, that he ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould reſign the province to Ramnarain, and injure his own brother, for the promiſe of the colonel. Clive obſerved, that he had before told his highneſs of the diſagreement which the interference of the Engliſh would occaſion; but as, notwithſtanding, he had importunately entreated him to write a letter of protection under his *own* ſeal, he muſt therefore now abide by the content, for he could not ſuffer a breach of his promiſe. Meer Jaffier denied having ſent him inſtructions to write what he had done; but the colonel, producing his own draft, he was ſilent on the ſubject to him, but abuſed his ſecretary and Ramnarain's vaqueel for impoſing upon him, who, however, inſiſted that they had written literally according to his inſtructions, which he had forgotten in the multiplicity of buſineſs. He was obliged to confirm Ramnarain in his employment, as the colonel inſiſted on his obſerving the engagement. This affair being ſettled, the navob made a pilgrimage to the tomb of a celebrated fakeer, and afterwards convened a numerous aſſembly of devotees, for whom he made an entertainment on the bank of the Ganges, at Patna; where he alſo celebrated the Hindoo feaſt of Hooly with much feſtivity and ſplendour. He then began his return to Moorſhedabad, hunting on his march with a ſelect party of his attendants at a diſtance from the main body of his army. He was accompanied as he moved by troops of muſicians and ſingers upon elephants, who entertained him with their harmony. Amid ſuch luxuries he repillaged the country as he halted, and at length reached the palace of Mahabut Jung at Moorſhudabad, where, plunging more and more into profuſion and voluptuouſneſs, he became regardleſs of all public affairs. Meeraun, his ſon, puffed up with vanity, copied the manners of the diſſipated of Dhely, about four thouſand of whom he had taken into his pay as ſoldiers. Giving himſelf up to women and debauchery, with equal avidity as his father, though more excuſeable, being in the height of youth, there was no one to attend to the buſineſs of government. The troops at length became ſo diſtreſſed through want of pay, that they pined with hunger, and turned their horſes looſe upon the plains, for want of grain to feed them. Except the few thouſand guards of Meeraun, his women, and favourite attendants, with thoſe of the navob his father, no one was regularly paid; and the controul of theſe extenſive provinces was left to the direction of three ſpies, Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing. By their influence the renters were protected in embezzling the revenues, ſo that ſhortly there was not money ſufficient carried to the treaſury to bear the expenſes of the navob and his ſon.

When only one year and three months of this wretched government had elapſed, the troops were driven to deſpair, and the knife had now reached the bone; till, at length, Abd al Hadee Khan and other chiefs conſpired to remove Jaffer Khan from the muſnud by aſſaſſination, when he ſhould attend the aſſembly of mourning in the month of Mohirrum*; but many perſons being in the plot, ſome one betrayed it to the navob on the ſecond evening of the meeting, and he came no more into public. Enquiry was made into the particulars of the treaſon, and many turned informers to ſave their lives. Abd al

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* In commemoration of the deaths of the Imaums, grandſons of Mahummud.

Hadee Khan, finding himſelf diſcovered, fortified himſelf in his own houſe, till, at length, obtaining leave to quit the provinces, he embarked with his family from Moorſhudabad; but was afterwards ſeized and put to death, on his way up the Ganges, by a band of Afghauns, commiſſioned by the navob for that purpoſe. Meer Caſſum Khan, another of the conſpirators, was alſo aſſaſſinated. The widow of Mahabut Jung, his daughter Gooſeety Begum and Ameeny Begum, alſo Lootf al Niſſa, the widow of Serauje ad Dowlah, and her infant daughter, being ſuſpected of encouraging the plot, were ſent into confinement at Dacca. About three months after this, rumours were ſpread of the prince Ali Goher's intention to enter Bengal. This intelligence alarming the navob and his ſon, they, for their own ſafety, paid up part of the arrears due to the troops, and promiſed more attention and regularity in future.

Ramnarain, the deputy governor of Patna, was a man of much cunning and intrigue, void of any real regard to Meer Jaffier Khan and his family, but, from the connection he had formed with the Engliſh, he dared not openly act contrary to treaty, though ſecretly he wiſhed his deſtruction, and was on the watch for opportunity to effect it. Rajas Sunder Sing and Pulwaun Sing, two principal zemindars, out of gratitude to the protection of Mahabut Jung, hated Meer Jaffier, as the deſtroyer of his family, and meditated rebellion. The greateſt number of the principal people of the provinces, diſguſted with the bad qualities and tyranny of the late navob, had been pleaſed at his depoſal, judging, that as Meer Jaffier was advanced in years, and had long ſerved Mahabut Jung, he would follow his example; but upon his acceſſion to power, experiencing his behaviour, and more particularly the cruel actions of his ſon Meeraun, a monſter of his time, they now regretted the fall of Serauje ad Dowlah, and the old ſaying of "Bleſs our former ruler," was revived on the tongues of the wiſe and the ſimple. Meer Jaffier, who, when paymaſter to Mahabut Jung, was celebrated among the troops for his profuſe liberality, upon aſcending the muſnud, became as much decried for his avarice. It is ſaid, that a perſon aſking him the cauſe of this change in his behaviour, he replied, that in Mahabut Jung's time the public treaſure was another's; but now it was his own, his heart felt uneaſy to part with it.*

In this ſituation of affairs, the prince Ali Goher, eldeſt ſon of the reigning emperor, having made his eſcape from the hands of his father's miniſter, who wiſhed to keep him in confinement, ſought protection with Mahummud Koollee Khan, the ſoubahdar of Aleabad. This nobleman was a young man of courage, but of little conduct. Ambitious of enlarging the limits of his government, he was eaſily tempted, by reports of diſorders in Bahar and Bengal, to attempt their conqueſt under the royal ſanction; for which purpoſe he offered his ſervices to the fugitive prince, who readily accepted them. Mahummud Koollee was alſo ſupported in his hopes by aſſurances of aid from Shujah ad Dowlah, his couſin, and ſoubahdar of Oude; who, however, was not ſincere in his promiſes, and only promoted the expedition in order to remove his relation from the fort of Aleabad, which he wiſhed to ſeize for himſelf. Mahummud Koollee Khan had alſo received invitations to invade Bahar from Sunder Sing, Pulwaun Sing, and other diſaffected zemindars. The former was truly attached to the family of Mahabut Jung, and burned with ardour to revenge the ruin of his family. He poſſeſſed true honour, courage, and many other good qualities; ſo that, had fate permitted him, he might have attained his object; but his life was too ſhort.

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* In his pleaſures, however, he was ridiculouſly profuſe, and laviſhed ſums upon them, which, paid to his troops, would have ſecured his power.

Under pretence of regulating his diſtricts, and viſiting Raja Ramnarain, he left his fortreſs of [*]Teekawary, formed an encampment, and began to levy troops. While making preparations, a favourite officer deſired the advance of a thouſand rupees; which demand, as the like had often been repeated, cauſed the raja to ſay in a jeſting manner to his attendants, "Gholaum Ghoſe inherits much bravery from his father, but this meanneſs of borrowing is from his mother, "and darkens his better qualities." Gholaum Ghoſe, hearing of this obſervation, was much enraged, and reſolved to murder his patron. He came and aſked for a thouſand rupees; upon which the raja told him, "Such importunity was not decent," and begged he would deſiſt; but the other impudently declared he ſhould not riſe till he had given him the ſum. The raja, upon this, attempting to riſe, he ſeized his garment, crying, "Sit down till you give me the money." Sunder Sing exclaimed, "Are you mad?" when the traitor ſtabbed him mortally with a dagger; then ruſhing on the attendants, he wounded ſeveral, and forced his way through them. Mounting his horſe, he fled from the camp, but was overtaken by Soorut Sing, a relation of the deceaſed, who called out, "It is cowardly "to fly, return and fight me." He ſtopped, and diſmounting from his horſe, a bloody conflict took place. At length, the traitor's ſword being broken, he ruſhed upon his antagoniſt and threw him to the ground. At this time ſome villagers appearing, Soorut Sing cried out, "Why ſtand you? behold here the "murderer of your prince!" Upon this, they ran upon him and put him to death with clubs and ſwords. Thus was Sunder Sing prevented in his career of joining the prince.

In the year 1172, Mahummud Koollee Khan, under the royal ſtandard of Ali Gôhir, who had procured from his father the emperor grants of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, began his A. D. 1759.

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[*] A diſtrict in Bahar.

march towards Patna. When Raja Ramnarain heard of his having approached beyond Banaras, he was much alarmed, neither the navob nor the Engliſh army having yet moved from Moorſhudabad. The dignity of the royal name, and the terror of the Mogul arms, filled his mind with dread, and made him act with caution. He pitched his camp at a little diſtance from the city, reſolving to join either the prince or the navob, whoever ſhould firſt arrive in his vicinity. Hearing that the royal army had croſſed the Carumnaſſa, and that Meer Jaffier had not yet left the capital, he thought it wiſeſt to treat with the former; but firſt aſked the advice of Mr. Amyatt, the chief of the Engliſh factory at Patna, obſerving, that "without the arrival of the navob's army, he was unable to cope "with the enemy." Mr. Amyatt replied, that "as to himſelf, if aſſiſtance arrived, he would remain at Patna; but if "not, on the near approach of the enemy, he would retire "ſome days' journey to the eaſtward towards Bengal, and wait "the orders of council or contingency of events; that as for "Ramnarain, he ſhould try to amuſe the enemy as long as he "could, till orders or help arrived from the navob; but in "caſe he was hard puſhed, to proceed as he ſhould find moſt "for his own advantage."

The Raja, having received the advice he wiſhed for, began to amuſe both parties. He wrote to Meeraun and colonel Clive, that he was prepared to reſiſt the enemy, but could not brave them alone, therefore hoped they would haſten to his relief; and at the ſame time he ſent emiſſaries to ſecure the favour of the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. [*] I was at this time at Patna, with my mother and family, but in much dread, as Meer Jaffier and Meeraun having heard that my father, Haddaiut Ali Khan, was with the prince, had written to Ramnarain to obſerve my motions, as they believed that I and my relations were the excitors of his expedition. But the truth is, I had not the leaſt acquaintance with the enemy, nor correſpondence with my father, who had long reſided at Dhely, where, like the reſt of the nobles, he ſpent his time in diſſipation, and had married a Caſhmirian woman; having no concern at all with us, or my mother for near ſixteen years, during which he enjoyed offices of great emolument. We alſo, from the kindneſs of our relations Mahabut Jung and his nephews, paſſed our time in eaſe and affluence, nor wanted his notice; ſo that, except a letter of ceremony now and then, there was no other communication between us.

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[*] Ghulaum Houſſein, the native writer of theſe events.

Ramnarain was well informed of theſe particulars, and on the receipt of the navob's letter aſſured me of his protection from his jealouſy. Upon the approach of the prince nearer Patna, Mr. Amyatt with the reſt of the Engliſh embarked in their boats, and retired twenty or thirty coſs towards Bengal, leaving their factory under the protection of Ramnarain; who by this ſtep was confirmed in his reſolution to viſit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. He was, however, adviſed againſt it by Raja Moorlydher, chief of the ſpies, who judged Meer Jaffier would in the end prevail from the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh; and he thought juſtly: but Ramnarain was deeply impreſſed by the awe of royalty, and the ſlowneſs of the navob and the Engliſh. When reſolved upon his conduct, he ſent for me privately, and aſked me to go and ſecure him the prince's favour through the mediation of my father. I complied, and ſet out for the camp. On the road I met ſeveral ſpies, who confirmed the news of the prince's approach. Arriving at *Aroul, I ſaw Muddar ad Dowlah, who was going on the part of the prince, and Meerza Mahummud Ali on that of Mahummud Koollee Khan, as agents, to Ramnarain, mounted on

elephants,

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* A town a few days' march from Patna.

elephants, with one hundred horſe. I was aſtoniſhed, that any other ſhould be ſent on this buſineſs than my father, who was intimately acquainted with the province and its principal inhabitants. When I had travelled a little farther, I heard that my brother Nukkee Ali Khan had joined my father, who had ſummoned him by letter. This gave me much concern, as there was no cauſe for his thus ſubjecting himſelf to the reſentment of the navob of Bengal. About ſunſet I reached the prince's camp, had an interview with my father, and ſoon diſcovered, that, from his haughtineſs of diſpoſition, he had not courted the attention of Mahummud Koollee Khan, like Muddar ad Dowlah and others, under whoſe influence the prince acted, as upon him indeed he depended for ſubſiſtance. I aſked him, "Why he had joined the prince, ſince it could anſwer "no purpoſe but vexation of heart, and the loſs of our jag-"hires in Bahar, which we had obtained at the expenſe of ſo "much time and trouble." He gave me an angry reply; but I perceived that he felt the truth of my obſervations. However, it came indeed rather too late, and his ſituation was pitiable; for whenever the prince, who was haſty and inconſiderate, acted contrary to the wiſhes of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he conſidered his conduct as originating from the advice of my father. In ſhort, Muddar ad Dowlah, being arrived at Patna, perſuaded Ramnarain by threats and promiſes to viſit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan; who, on their parts, agreed that he ſhould be continued in the ſoubahdary. Hearing of this, one day before that appointed for the interview, I repreſented to my father, "that Ramnarain was very artful "and circumſpect; that under awe of the prince's name and "the Mogul arms, he had been led to ſubmiſſion; but, upon "ſeeing the true ſtate of the camp, would repent of his timidity, "and if allowed to return to the city, would never come back." My father angrily replied, "that the family of Timur never

" dealt with treachery to any one." I anſwered, " that I did " not hint that treachery ſhould be uſed, but only that the " prince and his army ſhould enter Patna with the raja, when " he muſt of neceſſity become their friend, and upon intelligence of the fall of the city, the navob's army would advance leſs rapidly." He anſwered, " that Mahummud Koollee " Khan had the power." I adviſed him to inform him; but he ſaid, " that, as he never conſulted him, there was no cauſe " for his intruding his advice." This enraged me, and I told him, " he had given our family to the winds." He became more angry, and I was ſilent.

The day following, I went with my father to the royal tents. The arrival of the raja, and his being long in private with Mahummud Koollee Khan, was announced. Loſing all patience, I mentioned what I had obſerved to my father, to Moneer ad Dowlah and others; but in vain. At length, Mahummud Koollee entered the royal preſence, and, having made his obeiſance, took his place as vizier on the left of his highneſs. He inſtantly began to praiſe the raja, ſaying, " He was a wiſe Hindoo, and " ſpoke the Perſian with great readineſs; in ſhort, that he was " ſo much pleaſed with his abilities, that he had appointed " him his own dewan, and given him the deputation of Aleabad." The prince naturally aſked him, " How he could " place ſuch confidence in a perſon at firſt ſight?" when Muddar ad Dowlah and others, who had been gratified by the raja with a few thouſands of rupees, immediately uttered forth his praiſes for wiſdom, fidelity, and all good qualities, offering to be his pledges. In a little time the raja arrived, and being obliged to uſe all the ceremonies of royal audience, which he had never till now been accuſtomed to, he came up to the throne with a terrified aſpect and parched lips, to preſent his offering, which I forget whether the prince or Muddar ad Dowlah

lah took from him. He was then inveſted with a khelaut; but, as he had himſelf till now been only a beſtower of them, he was much wearied with the numerous obeiſances, neceſſary at receiving every ſeparate part of the dreſs. When this was over, having ſtood and recollected himſelf a little, I ſaw him obſerving the wretched appearance of the prince, and the ſtrange manners of his attendants, with contempt, ſhame at his having come to an interview, and impatience to return. He was ſoon diſmiſſed, and went with Mahummud Koollee Khan to his tents, who permitted him to leave the camp; and the raja, immediately upon his arrival at Patna, iſſued orders to ſhut the gates, and man the walls of the city. For ſome days, he continued to amuſe the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan with trifling preſents and meſſages, in order to prevent hoſtilities till the arrival of the navob's army; and ſuch was the weakneſs of the enemy, that they ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by his excuſes. At length, Mahummud Koollee Khan wiſhed to move his camp to the eaſtward of the city, through which was the common road; but Ramnarain repreſenting to him that ſome diſorders might ariſe on the march, from the irregularity of the Mogul troops, he conſented to go another way; though this denial of a paſſage made it clear to all, but himſelf, that the raja was deceiving him till the approach of the navob's army. He encamped for ſome days near the gardens of Jaffier Khan, and the raja kept up the farce of loyalty, by pretending to prepare a ſtatement of the revenues of the province and the balance in the treaſury; till, at length, intelligence of the march of Meeraun and colonel Clive from Moorſhudabad arriving, and the enemy becoming more urgent in their demands, he drove the meſſengers of Mahummud Koollee Khan from the city, by the importunate advice of Moorlydher, who was apprehenſive of the navob's ſuſpecting his loyalty; otherwiſe, Ramnarain would have amuſed them without hoſtilities, till the arrival of the Bengal army.

It is a juſt obſervation, "that the weak man acts the ſame "as th[illegible]nly not till after diſgrace;" and ſo it was with Mahu[illegible] Koollee Khan. On receiving the raja's meſſage, which was, "that he conſidered himſelf as a ſervant of "the navob of Bengal, and had only viſited him as a gueſt of "his maſter's, but did not underſtand his demand of the pro"vince," he flew into a violent rage, vowing that he would bring him by force to the prince the next day. Accordingly, in the morning he began to cannonade, and the ſiege was carried on for ſome days with great briſkneſs. In all probability, Patna would have fallen into his hands, had not the operations been interrupted by intelligence, which cauſed him to raiſe the ſiege and retreat. This was, that Shujah ad Dowlah, who had obtained his permiſſion to ſhelter his women in the fort of Aleabad, on pretence of marching to join him, had treacherouſly ſeized that place, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the province. Mahummud Koollee retired from Patna, and the prince, unable to act with his own ſmall army, reluctantly accompanied him. On his arrival at Phoolwawree, only four miles from the city, he was met by Mr. Law; who had haſtened with his ſmall band of Frenchmen from Chutterpore, (where he had reſided ſince the fall of Seraujee ad Dowlah) to offer his ſervices. Mr. Law remonſtrated with him, but in vain, on the folly of a retreat when he was ſo near ſucceſs. He marched onwards, and Mr. Law went to viſit the prince, and offer his aſſiſtance. The prince unheſitatingly informed him, "that he depended on "Mahummud Koollee Khan even for his daily expenſes, and "without him could not continue the ſiege; therefore muſt re"tire to Chutterpore, in hopes of ſupport from the raja of "that country." Mr. Law offered to accompany him, and marched on in front. Being at Saſſaram when he arrived there, I paid him a viſit; when he complained loudly of the folly of the nobles of Hindooſtan, who, he ſaid, were cowardly, giving up their empire to ruin; that he had travelled from the coaſt of Bengal to Dhely, and been witn[illegible]ing but oppreſſion of the poor and plundering of trav[illegible] "Though "I," ſaid he, "have uſed every argument to excite ſuch "powerful nobles as [a] Shujah ad Dowlah and [b] Ummaud al "Moolk to regulate the empire, and attempt the recovery of "Bengal from the Engliſh, they would not attend to me, nor "underſtand their real intereſts."

Soon after Mr. Law had paſſed, the prince, and with him my father, arrived; who complained heavily of the behaviour of Mahummud Koollee Khan and his highneſs, aſking my advice how he ſhould proceed. I obſerved, "That as he could "not return to Dhely, from the enmity of Ummaud al Moolk, "and the prince was unable to ſupport him, there was but "one reſource left, which was, to join Pulwaun Sing, who had "great intereſt with Ramnarain, and could procure the reſtitution of our jaghires, forfeited by joining the prince, ſhould "Pulwaun Sing ſubmit." This he agreed to; and accordingly went to his camp, where the raja gladly received him. Pulwaun Sing, who was rich and powerful, offered, if the prince and Mr. Law would remain with him, to hazard an engagement with the Engliſh and Meeraun; but they would not conſent, fearful that, as he was a zemindar, he might treacherouſly deliver them up to the enemy to make his own peace. It was then agreed, that the prince ſhould, to ſave appearances, write a letter to colonel Clive, demanding a ſum of money as the price of his retreat; which he commanded me to compoſe, and it was ſent by Nobut Khan to the colonel.

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[a] Navob of Oude.

[b] Prime miniſter of the empire.

When Shujah ad Dowlah heard of the retreat of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he treacherouſly commanded Beny Bahadur, his deputy, and Bulwaun Sing of Banaras, to intercept his march, and take him priſoner. They accordingly encamped their forces near [*]Ramnuggur, on the high road, and ſent word to the prince and Mr. Law, that they did not mean to moleſt them, but would oppoſe the progreſs of Mahummud Koollee Khan; upon which the former ſeparated from him, and continued their route to Chutterpore. Mahummud Koollee, againſt the remonſtrances of his friends, conſented to diſband his army, and throw himſelf on the protection of Shujah ad Dowlah; who immediately on his arrival, kept him a priſoner, and ſhortly after put him to death.

Meer Jaffier Khan, upon hearing of the viſit of Ramnarain to the prince, was much alarmed, and entreated the aſſiſtance of colonel Clive, who agreed to march with his ſon Meeraun to the relief of Patna; but it was not the intention of the Engliſh, who at this time were unacquainted with the low ſtate of the empire, to oppoſe, if it was poſſible to avoid it, the emperor's ſon, for whoſe dignity they had much reſpect; and it is certain, had he and Mahummud Koollee Khan acted prudently, a treaty might have been concluded to their honour and advantage; but their weak conduct ruined their affairs. Meeraun upon his march halted at Raujemahal, intending to allure Khadim Houſſein Khan, fojedaur of Poorneah, to an interview, at which he had reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, being jealous of his power, and fearful of his joining the prince. This deſign, however, being reported abroad, the fojedaur, who was a prudent man, marched from Poorneah up the banks of the Ganges, giving out that he meant to join the young navob; but upon his arrival at Currangola, nearly oppoſite Raujemahal, he halted, and ſent an agent to colonel Clive, repreſenting his fears of Meeraun's treachery, and begging his protection. The colonel accordingly diſſuaded Meeraun from his deſign; and having met the fojedaur in a boat on the middle of the Ganges, aſſured him of ſafety. Khadim Houſſein Khan, however, not chuſing to viſit Meeraun, the colonel obtained for him the navob's permiſſion, much againſt his inclination, to return to Poorneah, Clive being ſecurity for his fidelity to the navob, and the navob's ſincerity to the fojedaur. Meeraun then proceeded towards Patna with the colonel; but before their arrival the enemy had retreated. Near the city they were viſited by Ramnarain, who artfully excuſed his interview with Mahummud Koollee Khan, and became more favoured than before. Though he had importunately entreated me to be his agent with the prince, and I had complied with his requeſt againſt my own inclinations, he now abuſed me to the navob as a traitor, ſaying, "It was a ſtrange world, that I ſhould "be ſo deceitful as to deſert his ſervice, and join my father;" though he himſelf was indeed the traitor, for his reſolution was to join the enemy, till he ſaw their weakneſs. With ſuch arts he preſerved his own reputation; but it is ſurprizing how he could perſuade the Engliſh that he was their friend, after having viſited the enemy. The fact is, he was immenſely rich; and, in theſe days, money can do wonders, even give vice the appearance of virtue. After ſome days ſtay at Patna, Meeraun and the Engliſh marched againſt Pulwaun Sing, who fled to the hilly country for ſecurity; at the ſame time ſending offers of ſubmiſſion, which were accepted. Ramnarain perſuaded the young navob to return to Patna; which he willingly did, being fatigued with the campaign, leaving Ramnarain and the colonel to adjuſt affairs with the zemindar. Pulwaun Sing honourably inſiſted on the pardon of my father and the continuance of his jaghires, before he would accept his own, which was granted. God be praiſed, that what I had foreſeen, came to paſs. The Engliſh approved much the letter I had written to them for the prince, and, being moved with compaſſion, colonel Clive ſent him a ſum of money. All affairs being concluded with Pulwaun Sing, Ramnarain and the Engliſh returned to Patna.

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[*] The palace of the raja of Banaras.

Meeraun being now anxious to return to Moorſhudabad, prepared for his departure; but firſt wiſhed to drive from his ſervice Aſſaulut Khan and ſome other officers, of whoſe attachment he and his father had entertained ſome ſuſpicions, but had concealed their jealouſies on account of the prince's invaſion, leſt they ſhould have joined him. Meer Jaffier had inſtructed his ſon to leave them behind him without their information, leſt rage might provoke them to attempt his perſon; but the truth is, they had no deſigns inimical to the father or the ſon. They had ever been attached to Meer Jaffier, and on that account were diſplaced from the ſervice of government by Serauje ad Dowlah, and ſuffered great hardſhips, remaining without employment for twelve months. When I was, by the accident already related, obliged to join the prince's army, I wrote a letter to Dilleer Khan, with whom I had * exchanged turbans, inviting him to embrace the prince's ſervice, and requeſting him to eſcort my family to the camp. He wrote me in anſwer, that his own head ſhould be ſecurity for my honour; but that as for deſerting Meer Jaffier, he never would, though he ſhould be forſaken by all.

Meeraun, agreeably to the inſtructions of his father, till the arrival of Ramnarain pretended much friendſhip for Dilleer Khan, but afterwards forbad him his preſence, and departed ſuddenly in boats towards the capital, leaving him and his followers under

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* By exchange of turbans, perſons adopt each other as brothers.

der long arrears of pay. Finding he could obtain no ſatisfaction from Ramnarain, who pleaded that he had no orders to advance him money, Dilleer Khan, with his friends and followers, went to Teekaury, and offered their ſervices to Futteh Sing and Booniaud Sing, relations of the late Sunder Sing, who entertained them. Not long afterwards, Dilleer Khan joined Kaumgar Khan, the zemindar of Terhoot, in a petition to the prince, that he would march again towards Patna, and his highneſs readily embraced their offers of aſſiſtance. Dilleer Khan would have prevailed on me to join them, but I refuſed, and repaired to Patna. Ramnarain would have denied me a reſidence, at the inſtigation of Moorlydher and others; but Mr. Fullerton, ſurgeon to the Engliſh factory, by permiſſion of Mr. Amyatt, the chief, gave me apartments at his own houſe, I being intimately acquainted with thoſe gentlemen. Upon intelligence of the prince's approach, Ramnarain encamped with his forces at ſome diſtance from the city, and was joined by captain Cochran, with ſome Engliſh ſoldiers, ſepoys, and ſome pieces of artillery.

The prince had croſſed the Carumnaſſa, and juſt entered the province of Bahar, when he received intelligence of the murder of his father Aulumgeer 2d; upon which he diſpatched an expreſs to my father, then at Houſſeinabad, commanding him to his preſence, and aſking his advice on this event. My father, in reply, recommended him to aſſume immediately the imperial authority, to ſend the * inkſtand of the vizarut to Shujah ad Dowlah, ſoubahdar of Oude, and the khelaut of ameer al amra to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, a powerful Afghaun chief; alſo to diſpatch Munneer ad Dowlah on an embaſſy to Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, to requeſt his aſſiſtance, and commands to the Afghaun chiefs of Hindooſtan to acknowledge him as emperor. The prince, accord-

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* The vizier is inveſted in office by a preſent of an inkſtand and canopy from the emperor.

accordingly, aſcended the throne, by the title of Shaw Aulum, and acted according to my father's advice. He was now joined by Kaumgar Khan with five thouſand horſe, Dilleer Khan, and Aſſaulut Khan, with their followers, when he proceeded to engage Ramnarain, who was defeated, and with difficulty gained the city. Captain Cochran and Mr. Barwell were killed, with ſome ſoldiers and ſepoys; but the remainder of the Engliſh, having ſpiked one of their cannon, retreated in good order to Patna. Raja Moorlydher and Omar Khan, a principal chief, were taken priſoners. The emperor and Kamgaur Khan did not purſue the enemy, having ſuffered much in the action, and loſt the two gallant chiefs Dilleer Khan and Aſſaulut Khan. Had the royal army followed the fugitives, it is moſt probable, Patna would have fallen without reſiſtance. For ſome days the city was in the utmoſt confuſion; but at length, no enemy appearing, the ſpirits of the inhabitants revived.

The emperor next marched to attack Meeraun, who was advancing from Moorſhudabad; but the royal army was defeated by the gallantry of the Engliſh. In this action Meeraun was wounded. Shaw Aulum, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, now haſtened by forced marches through the hills, in hopes of ſurprizing Meer Jaffier in his capital; but the navob having timely intelligence from his ſon Meeraun, was prepared; upon which the royal army retreated, and marched by another route towards Patna, hoping, as Meeraun had moved towards Moorſhudabad to the aſſiſtance of his father, that the city would fall an eaſy prey before he could return to relieve it. Unfortunately for them, they halted a few days at Bahar, which gave time to Ramnarain to prepare for defence; for the greater part of his troops were with Meeraun, and only a few ſepoys in the Engliſh factory. Upon intelligence of the approach of the enemy, as many troops as were in the neighbouring diſtricts were called in, and Mr. Amyatt encreaſed his force to about three companies of ſepoys, from the ſeveral ſtations. At length the enemy commenced the ſiege, and a few nights after, Mr. Law and his Frenchmen attempted an eſcalade, but were defeated by the vigilance and activity of the Engliſh and Raja Shittabroy. They repeated their attempt a ſecond evening in a different quarter, with the ſame ill ſucceſs; but the ſpirits of the garriſon began to fall, eſpecially of Ramnarain and his followers, when they were revived by the arrival of an Engliſh detachment under captain Knox, who had marched from Burdwan in thirteen days, and reached the bank of the river oppoſite the city the morning after the laſt aſſault. The following evening, the Engliſh made a ſally upon the beſiegers, who were eaſily defeated. Kaumgar Khan now retired towards Gyah Maunpore with the emperor, and raiſed contributions upon the neighbouring diſtricts, for his ſupport.

Shaw Aulum repeatedly ſummoned my father to his preſence, but he, unwilling to offend the navob of Bengal, evaded coming; till at length, Kaumgar Khan, to oblige him, detached Sheoput Mharatta to plunder his jaghire; he was then forced to comply, being without help, and prepared for his departure to the royal camp. Upon this, Ramnarain endeavoured to excite the reſentment of the Engliſh againſt me; obſerving, that my father, notwithſtanding the reſtoration of his jaghire, was leagued with the enemy and I with him, at the ſame time that I enjoyed the Engliſh protection. Mr. Amyatt ſpoke to me on the ſubject, and deſired I would write to perſuade my father from joining the emperor. I told him, "that
" my writing would be of no effect, while my father was ex-
" poſed to the ravages of the enemy; but that, if he ſhould
" be allowed to come and reſide in the city, he would wil-
" lingly avoid going to the emperor; that as for myſelf, I had

"not the leaſt correſpondence with the enemy, ſince my ar- "rival at Patna." Mr. Amyatt ſaw the juſtice of my remarks, and aſſured me of his protection; but deſired I would write, which I did, declaring as before, that my father muſt of neceſſity obey the emperor, while he and his family were in the open country expoſed to his diſpleaſure. It ſo happened, he repaired to the royal camp againſt his inclination, and was honoured with the firſt place in his majeſty's confidence.

The enemy continued in the country of Kaumgar Khan and Teekaury, waiting the ſucceſs of the embaſſy to Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. At this period, Khadim Houſſein Khan, being fearful of the treachery of Meeraun, reſolved to join the emperor; and having ſeized all the money he could from the inhabitants, marched from Poorneah with five or ſix thouſand horſe, about ſeven thouſand infantry, and upwards of forty pieces of artillery, towards Patna, and ſoon arrived near Hajeepore, on the bank of the river oppoſite the city. Had he done this before the arrival of captain Knox, Patna would certainly have fallen into the hands of the emperor, and Khadim Houſſein Khan would have acquired great honour. Ramnarain, upon intelligence of his approach, conſulted with Mr. Amyatt; who obſerved, that as the emperor was at a diſtance from the city, the raja ſhould detach the greater part of the forces with captain Knox, who had undertaken to croſs the river and engage with Khadim Houſſein Khan. Ramnarain was aſtoniſhed he ſhould think of attempting it with ſo ſmall a force; but Mr. Amyatt preſſing him, he promiſed to prepare his troops to join the Engliſh. Mr. Amyatt alſo deſired the aſſiſtance of Raja Shittabroy, who with great willingneſs joined captain Knox with his followers, about two hundred horſe and foot. The Engliſh detachment conſiſted of three or four companies of ſepoys, one of Europeans, and two field pieces of artillery. The troops of

Ramnarain, according to the uſage of the preſent times, delayed their march to ſettle arrears of pay and other affairs, ſo that not one man of them joined the captain; but on the contrary, Hummeed ad Dien, a principal jemmautdaur, endeavoured to perſuade Shittabroy to return, by repreſenting the folly of attacking ſuch a force as Khadim Houſſein Khan's with a handful of men, and inſinuating that Ramnarain wiſhed his deſtruction, and would be glad of the defeat of his own troops, to whom he owed conſiderable arrears; but that he and other officers had reſolved not to riſk their lives and fortunes by joining the raſh, infatuated Engliſh. Shittabroy, however, was not to be diverted from his attachment, and accompanied captain Knox acroſs the river to meet the enemy, who, contrary to the expectation of Ramnarain and the inhabitants of the city, were defeated with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of great part of their baggage and artillery. Upon this Khadim Houſſein Khan retreated towards the diſtrict of Butteah, and captain Knox, unable to purſue him, leſt the abſence of his detachment ſhould leave Patna expoſed to the emperor's army, recroſſed the river a few days after the battle. Shittabroy, by his gallantry and fidelity, deſervedly acquired the confidence of the Engliſh, who rewarded him with great liberality.

Not long after this event, Meeraun, who had marched from Moorſhudabad upon intelligence of the defection of Khadim Houſſein Khan, arrived near Patna with his own army and the Engliſh forces under the command of colonel Calliaud. Without entering the city, they croſſed the river in purſuit of the rebels; who having already been defeated by ſo few of the Engliſh, ſtrove now only to effect his retreat from the provinces. He kept up a ſort of running fight for ſeveral days with the navob, till his progreſs was ſtopped by the hills and the river Ghunduc; ſo that he muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of Meeraun, had not an unforeſeen event ſaved him from deſtruction.

[a] As it was now the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, and the decree of divine vengeance hung over Meeraun, about the third hour of the night of Wednesday the eighteenth of Zee-kaud, 1173, a heavy ſtorm began. The world was dark and A. D. 176 gloomy to Meeraun and his aſſociates, and the ſplendour of the day of his life and proſperity changed to the black night of deſtruction. About a third part of the night was elapſed, when his companions, with his attendants, were diſmiſſed. Meeraun, to guard againſt the violence of the ſtorm, quitting his large tent, retired to a ſmaller one, called, from the inventor of it, a Dulleel Khaunee, low, and without walls, ſecured by ſtrong pegs fixed in the ground very cloſe. A favourite courtezan, with whom he generally ſlept, alſo two or three other ſinging girls, a ſtory-teller, and a domeſtic to [b] pat his limbs, were with him. As the life of the women was yet to remain, after a ſhort time he diſmiſſed them; when the domeſtic began to pat his feet, and the ſtory-teller his charm, to the ſleep of death. God knows, whether he was ſleeping, or his eye wakeful in expectation of the meſſenger of fate, when, in the height of a moſt heavy ſhower, the threatening thunder of avenging anger roared, and the lightning of wrath deſcended on the head of Meeraun; who reached the place of final vengeance in the poſture in which he lay upon his bed. The ſame flaſh falling on the domeſtic and the ſtory-teller, killed them alſo.

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[a] This is the true account of Meeraun's death; which Mr. Burke, deceived by falſe reports, in the opening of his charges againſt Mr. Haſtings, attributed to the treachery of the Engliſh government.

[b] This patting of the limbs is common in the Eaſt, to promote circulation of the blood.

Some time after the accident, when the fury of the ſtorm had abated, the attendants whoſe turn it was to watch, coming in, ſaw them in the ſleep of death, and immediately, without noiſe or clamour, informed ſome of the principal officers, whoſe tents were neareſt. Upon examination, five or ſix ſmall holes were found on the back part of his head, and, on his body, ſtreaks like the marks of a whip. His ſcymetar, which lay near his head on the bed, had alſo holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tentpole appeared as if rotted.

Meeraun was of a bloody and unrelenting diſpoſition. With him, the ſlighteſt jealouſy was ſufficient to bring death on its object. By his inſtigation, Khaujeh Hadee Khan and Meer Cauzim Khan were aſſaſſinated on ſuſpicion of diſloyalty. He killed ſeveral women of his haram with his own hand, and would boaſt of the act, ſaying, “this was the true mode of “clearing up doubts, and eaſing the mind of jealouſies.” With this ſavage ferocity, he procured the death of Ameena Begum and Gooſeety Begum, the daughters of Mahabut Jung, whom he cauſed to be drowned; and among his papers was found a liſt of many perſons whom he had reſolved to cut off at the concluſion of the campaign, determined, as he ſaid, to rid himſelf of the diſloyal, and ſit down in repoſe with his friends. But the Almighty, who is protector of the univerſe, would not permit ſuch barbarity. When he beholds a people immerſed in wickedneſs, he commits the guidance of power over them to a tyrant, that he may puniſh their offences: but he lets not that tyrant remain for ever over his ſervants. The government of the oppreſſive has no permanency, for the ſcripture truly ſays, “Dominion may continue even with infidelity, but cannot “with cruelty. If, indeed, after neceſſary ſeverity, the cruel “become juſt, he may eſtabliſh their power; or elſe, remedy-

“ ing evil by evil, he ſends one more cruel than themſelves to “overthrow their proſperity.”

On the nineteenth, in the morning early, the fate of Meeraun was diſcloſed by his ſervants to colonel Calliaud, the commander of the Engliſh army, who agreed with them on the propriety of concealing his death from the troops. The body being opened in his preſence, the bowels were taken out and buried on the ſpot. Orders of march were iſſued, and the corpſe was carried, dreſſed as if alive, upon an elephant, a report being given out that Meeraun was indiſpoſed; but his death was ſoon ſpread abroad, and the carrying of his corpſe in this manner was regarded as an expoſure of it, in revenge for the diſgrace offered to the body of Serauje ad Dowlah. Colonel Calliaud when arrived near Butteah prepared a hearſe, and ſent off the corpſe to the Ganges, where it was embarked in a boat, and carried down to Raujemahal for interment. The army then returned to Patna, under the direction of Raujebullub, Meeraun's dewan, where it remained during the rainy ſeaſon; the emperor ſtill continuing in the vicinity of Teekaury, and raiſing contributions in the diſtricts for his ſupport. About this time, ſome changes took place among the Engliſh. Colonel Clive had returned to Europe, leaving Mr. Holwell in the government till the arrival of Mr. Henry Vanſittart, who was appointed to ſucceed him, from Madraſs. Mr. Amyatt, having received ſome ſlight, repaired to Calcutta, where colonel Calliaud was alſo ordered, and the command of the Engliſh army at Patna devolved upon major Carnac.

The navob Meer Jaffier having, through grief for the death of his ſon, loſt what underſtanding he poſſeſſed, the public affairs became neglected, and confuſion pervaded every department. The navob, from neceſſity, encreaſed the conſequence of his ſon in law Meer Cauſim Khan, to whom he had a great averſion, and ſent him to negotiate ſome buſineſs at Calcutta; where, during his agency, he impreſſed the minds of the council of his ſuperiority of ability for government over Meer Jaffier or his ſon; and, indeed, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed among his cotemporaries and family for penetration and conduct. Having finiſhed his embaſſy, he returned to the navob, who, pleaſed at his ſucceſs, ſhewed him more kindneſs than formerly, and he became of much influence at court.

At this time the troops, being greatly in arrear, ſurrounded the palace in a mutinous manner, demanding payment; and Meer Cauſim had the addreſs to quell them, by offering himſelf as ſecurity for the redreſs of their grievances. Soon after this it became neceſſary for him to repair again to Calcutta. Meer Jaffier was unwilling at firſt to permit him; but fate would not allow him to prevent him.

Mr. Vanſittart was by this time arrived. To him Meer Cauſim related the neglect of the navob in the affairs of his government, the diſordered ſtate of the revenues and army, and the expenſes of the houſehold, owing to the influence of a few mean people without ability, as Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing Halkarrah, over every department. Mr. Vanſittart, who was unequalled among the Engliſh for his judgment and abilities in ſtate affairs, perceived that Meer Cauſim Khan was among all the relations and ſervants of the navob moſt diſtinguiſhed in underſtanding, and he wiſhed to form ſome plan for the regulation of the declining provinces. It occurred to him, that Meer Cauſim Khan ſhould be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government, as the deputy of his father in law the navob, to whom he ſhould regularly pay a ſum adequate to the proper ſupport of his dignity. He laid his plan before the council for their advice and approbation, and the majority aſſented to its execution; but Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Batſon, and major Carnac, diſapproved the meaſure. Though the inability of Meer Jaffier was not ſo problematical as not to be perceived by them, eſpecially Mr. Amyatt; yet, as he wiſhed his own party to prevail over Mr. Vanſittart, he oppoſed his plans, according to the maxim, "[a] It is impoſſible to "love Alee, and not hate Maweeah." The two parties accuſed each other, in their letters to Europe, of every miſmanagement; and their mutual enmity cauſed the ruin of numbers, as I ſhall hereafter relate. The governor's party being the ſtrongeſt, his meaſures took place. Meer Cauſim was congratulated on his ſucceſs, and returned to Moorſhadabad; where it was agreed that Mr. Vanſittart ſhould repair to execute his plan. This he did very ſpeedily, accompanied by Mr. Haſtings and ſome other gentlemen, with a detachment of the army.

Upon the governor's arrival at Moradbaug, a garden houſe oppoſite the city, on the bank of the river Baugruttee, Meer Jaffier the next morning came to viſit him, and was informed of the plan agreed upon by the council, which he ſtrenuouſly refuſed to accede to, though Mr. Vanſittart uſed every argument to convince him that no hurt was intended to his dignity, but that he only meant, by appointing Meer Cauſim his deputy, to eaſe him of a load of cares, which his infirm ſtate of health rendered him incapable of bearing, and to reſcue his honour and ſafety from the dangers they ſuſtained by the ill behaviour of ignorant and ſelf-intereſted miniſters. After ſome time, the navob took leave, and returned to his palace. On the way back, he met Meer Cauſim, who was coming to Moradbaug,

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[a] The family of Alee, ſon in law of Mahummud, was deſtroyed by the caliph Maweeah, who is held in abhorrence by the ſect of the former on that account.

and commanded him to return; but he pretended not to hear, and proceeded.

When Meer Cauſim heard what had paſſed, from the governor, he expreſſed his fears that the navob's having been informed of his plan, without being obliged to its execution, would prove hazardous to his ſafety. Mr. Vanſittart expreſſed uncertainty how to act; upon which Meer Cauſim was ſtill more alarmed, ſaying, "If you are at a loſs, what muſt I be, "who am without any other ſupport?" It being now dinner time, the governor retired to table, and Meer Cauſim to a ſeparate apartment. Here he conſulted with Ali Ibrahim Khan, who adviſed him to wait patiently for another converſation with the governor, and to ſee how he would act: that if he gave up the plan, he could retire with his permiſſion into [1] Beerboom and join the emperor, who would gladly receive him. Meer Cauſim reſolved on this ſtep, as a laſt reſource to ſecure himſelf from the jealouſy of the navob, ſhould the Engliſh give up their deſign, and with much policy, for he would have been joined by many perſons of rank, and the troops, for whoſe arrears he had ſtood ſecurity, were attached to him; which would have enabled him to have aſſumed independance. Dinner being concluded, Mr. Vanſittart renewed the converſation, and it was at length determined, that Meer Jaffier ſhould be forced to accede to his meaſures; for which purpoſe he would accompany Meer Cauſim to the palace the next morning.

In the morning, Mr. Vanſittart, attended by the Engliſh detachment, went to the palace, and was met by Meer Cauſim and his friends. Repeated aſſurances were ſent to the navob, that no injury was intended to his perſon or dignity. Mr. Vanſittart endeavoured to perſuade him that the appointment of a deputy in ſo near a relation, would reinſtate his affairs from the confuſion in which they were involved by the miſmanagement and rapacity of his preſent favourites, but in vain. Some time paſſed in ſending and receiving meſſages, when the Engliſh, finding that the navob would not conſent to their requeſt, deſired Meer Cauſim to aſſume the muſnud in his own name, which he did without oppoſition; the friends of Meer Jaffier, who remained in the haram, having moſtly deſerted him, through fear of the Engliſh. Meer Jaffier had the offer of reſiding at the capital, or Calcutta. He choſe the latter, and embarked in boats with his family, carrying with him unmoleſted the treaſures in the haram, the jewels and valuable effects, which had accumulated to an ineſtimable amount, during the governments of the four laſt navobs of Bengal. At Calcutta he built a palace for his reſidence, and had a monthly allowance adequate to his dignity. A. H. 1174. A. D. 1760.

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[1] A woody diſtrict in Bengal.

MEER CAUSIM KHAN.

MEER Cauſim Khan, on his acceſſion to the muſnud, finding the treaſury low, was diſtreſſed to pay off the arrears due to the troops, for which he had given ſecurity, and the debts of the Engliſh, on which account he haſtened to reform the revenues of the ſeveral diſtricts. He gave Burdwan in mortgage to the Engliſh, and pledged to them ſome of his jewels. After muſtering the army, and detecting the impoſitions of ſeveral officers, he ſatisfied the troops, by paying them partly in money, and partly by orders on the collections. He ſettled the diſburſements of his houſehold, ſo as not to exceed his revenue, and reformed ſeveral uſeleſs departments, hitherto kept up for ſhew. He obliged Cheeny Laal and Munny Laal to refund conſiderable ſums, which they had embezzled under the late government. Meer Cauſim, being well acquainted with the circumſtances of the relations and dependants of the three late navobs, now exacted money from all whom he knew to be rich, and even obliged ſeveral courtezans to refund ſums and valuable effects which they had received from Meer Jaffier and his ſon Meeraun; nor did he ſpare the women and eunuchs of Mahabut Jung, who had retired from the court and its affairs. In ſhort, the advice of Saadee the poet, "Why collecteſt thou not from every ſubject "a grain of ſilver, that thou mayeſt form a treaſure?" He had attentively liſtened to, and now ſtrictly followed, Raja Suknut Sing, who had held great offices under Mahabut Jung, voluntarily delivered up all his wealth to Meer Cauſim, who gave him up a part, and ever treated him with particular regard and attention, allowing him to ſit cloſe to his Muſnud in public. Having thus collected a great treaſure, he ſatisfied the army, and diſbanded ſuch of the troops as he could not truſt, levying others in their room; after which he prepared to reduce the power of the refractory zemindars. In fact, this deſcription of men are in general faithleſs, and ready upon the ſmalleſt commotion to forget the indulgence of their governors; on which account former emperors never relied upon them, but always managed the pergunnahs by their own officers. On this account, in their days, the provinces were flouriſhing, and men of all ranks ſatisfied and ſecure; but ſince the zemindars have been left uncontrouled in the government of their diſtricts, confuſion has prevailed, and the country is decaying. Meer Cauſim having marched from Moorſhudabad againſt Aſſud Zummaun Khan, raja of Beerboom, who had refuſed to pay an additional demand of revenue, eaſily defeated him with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh.

It is now neceſſary, for the ſake of regularity, that I ſhould return to the affairs of Patna and the occurrences in that province, ſince the death of Meeraun.

At the concluſion of the rains, major Carnac with the Engliſh army, accompanied by Ramnarain, Ranjeboollub, and the forces of Meeraun, marched to Gyah Maunpore againſt the emperor and Kaumgar Khan, who were defeated, and Mr. Law was taken priſoner. Major Carnac after the victory ſent Raja Shittabroy with propoſals of peace, and an offer to viſit the emperor, who at firſt declined them, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, but on the remonſtrances of my father, he ſent again for the raja, and conſented to an interview with the Engliſh. Upon this, Kaumgar Khan retired to his own country. Shaw Aulum having moved nearer the Engliſh camp, appointed the next day to receive the major, who came agreeably to his promiſe, and after the cuſtomary ceremonies, conducted his majeſty to Gyah; from whence, in a few days, he attended the imperial ſtandard to Patna.

Meer Cauſim, upon intelligence of this event, haſtened from Beerboom to Patna, much alarmed at the connection of the Engliſh with the emperor, eſpecially as major Carnac was of Mr. Amyatt's party, which had oppoſed Mr. Vanſittart in his acceſſion to the ſoubahdary. He refuſed to viſit his Majeſty in his camp, either from fear of treachery, or pride, but, after much negotiation, conſented to pay his reſpects to him at the Engliſh factory; which was accordingly adorned for the occaſion, and a throne placed upon the dining tables, which were covered with a rich muſnud. Shaw Aulum came to the factory on the day appointed, and Meer Cauſim being introduced, made the cuſtomary offerings, and was preſented with a khelaut and other marks of favour, when he agreed to pay the emperor [*] twenty four lacs of rupees annually from the revenues of the three provinces. After the interview, the emperor took up his reſidence in the citadel, and the navob returned to his own camp; but being jealous of my father's attendance on his majeſty, he prevailed on the Engliſh to procure the royal order for his return to his jaghire, which they did, though againſt their inclinations, to quiet his ſuſpicions.

Shaw Aulum, after ſome ſtay at Patna, having received invitations from his vizier Shujah ad Dowlah and other chiefs, marched from that city to join him, greatly to the ſatisfaction of the navob, who feared that the attachment of the Engliſh to himſelf might be weakened by their regard for the royal cauſe.

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[*] Two hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

Meer Cauſim had long wiſhed to demand of Ramnarain an account of the diſburſements and receipts of his government, which had never been given in, ſince the death of Serauje ad Dowlah; and the navob, who was intimately acquainted with buſineſs, well knew that the deputy had converted great ſums to his own uſe. The protection afforded Ramnarain by the Engliſh, alone prevented him from proceeding to extremities; and the raja, depending upon their ſupport, payed no attention to the juſt demands of the navob. Mr. Macguire, the chief of Patna, was of Mr. Vanſittart's party, and ſupported Meer Cauſim; but major Carnac and Mr. Hay oppoſed his demands upon the raja. In this ſtate of affairs, the navob, knowing my intimacy with Mr. Amyatt, ſent me to Calcutta, that I might endeavour to make that gentleman his friend, and to conſent to Ramnarain's being left at his diſcretion. Soon after this, colonel Coote was appointed to the army at Patna, and Ramnarain, thinking it his intereſt to excite jealouſies in the minds of the Engliſh againſt the navob, bribed the colonel's ſpies to convey him falſe intelligence, which he too eagerly believed. Theſe men carried their impoſitions ſo far, as to aſſure the colonel that Meer Cauſim had fixed a day for attacking him by ſurprize; upon which the colonel, early on the morning mentioned, went with ſome armed men to the navob's camp; but finding no ſigns of preparation, and the navob aſleep, he was vexed at his credulity, and returned without ſeeing Meer Cauſim; to whom he excuſed himſelf by a meſſage, that he had come with intention to viſit him, but hearing he was aſleep, would not diſturb his repoſe. The navob complained to the council of this behaviour, which he attributed to its juſt cauſe, the intrigues of Ramnarain, of which they were now convinced. Colonel Coote was recalled, and orders ſent to the gentlemen at Patna, that they ſhould not interfere between the navob and his deputy.

This event rendering my farther ſtay at Calcutta needleſs, I returned to Patna; and indeed it was in vain that I endeavoured to draw Mr. Amyatt over to friendſhip for the navob. He one day ſaid to me, "You well know, that I have no regard "for Ramnarain, but, on the contrary, diſlike him; yet, as I "have from the beginning taken an oppoſite party to the go-"vernor, and our diſputes are referred to England, I cannot "befriend Meer Cauſim without contradicting my own aſſer-"tions. If a deciſion ſhall arrive in favour of the governor's "party, he will not ſeek my help; but if my opinions are ap-"proved, and the government committed to my charge, ſhould "the navob offer me his friendſhip, I ſhall have no objection "to return it." Upon this, I wrote freely to Meer Cauſim the determinations of Mr. Amyatt and his friends.

The navob, upon permiſſion from the council, demanded Ramnarain to give in his accounts, which he did. In them the raja had put down large ſums paid to jaghiredars; but the navob required the receipts of the perſons ſaid to have received them, as vouchers for the payment; alſo muſter rolls of the troops, and the books of the ſeveral payoffices of each corps, as proof of the exactneſs of the diſburſements; for which purpoſe he ordered the ſervants of the raja in each department to attend with their papers. Ramnarain, conſcious of his miſmanagement and embezzlements of the collections, was alarmed, and at a loſs how to act, being no longer ſupported in his contumacy by the Engliſh. Some of his friends adviſed him to reſiſt the navob by force; but, as he was void of perſonal courage, he ſaw no remedy but ſubmiſſion, having firſt prevailed on ſome of the heads of offices to fly with their accounts, in hopes by that means to confuſe the navob's auditors, and cover his own defalcation. Meer Cauſim, upon this, put a guard over his houſe, to prevent his eſcape, and having detected embezzlements of large ſums from the revenues, the jaghires, and pay of the troops, confiſcated his effects. About [a] ſeven lacs of rupees in money and goods were found in his houſe, and nearly the ſame ſum was recovered from perſons to whom it had been entruſted by himſelf and his women. The effects of Gongabiſhen, his treaſurer, and Munſaram his banker, were alſo ſeized, under pretence of having concealed his treaſures. A large ſum was alſo collected from Moorlydher and the cutwal of the city, who had been partners in guilt with the raja; nor was a ſingle perſon of his dependants exempt from fines or confiſcation; ſo that the navob acquired a great treaſure.

Meer Cauſim having ſettled theſe affairs to his ſatisfaction, entered the fort of Patna with much pomp, as a proof to the inhabitants of his poſſeſſing full authority in his government, which in fact he did not, till the ſubmiſſion of Ramnarain. He kept him in confinement in the city, but ſent Moorlydher priſoner to Dacca, and Ameed Roy, the royroyan, with ſeveral other perſons, to Moorſhudabad. Having obtained from the emperor the dewanny of the province, the government of Rhotas Ghur, and the jaghires of [b] Eatimaud ad Dowlah, which had been under the direction of Raja Shittabroy, he demanded of him an account of his conduct; but he refuſed to ſubmit, and with ſome faithful followers reſolved to defend his houſe againſt the troops of the navob; but the Engliſh, who owed great obligations to Shittabroy for his aſſiſtance in the battle with Khadim Houſſein Khan, prevailed with Meer Cauſim to ſubmit his claims upon him to the deciſion of the council, which he did, depending on the governor's ſupport of his cauſe. Shittabroy accordingly accompanied major Carnac to Calcutta; but as

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[a] Seventy thouſand pounds.

[b] Vizier to Mahummud Shaw.

as, on enquiry, no fault could be proved upon him, the governor and council granted him an eſcort to conduct him in ſafety out of the provinces ſubject to Meer Cauſim, into the territories of the navob of Oude, where he choſe to retire.

Meer Cauſim, ſince his acceſſion, had paid great attention to the forming his army, which he greatly ſtrengthened by the addition of a regular artillery and ſeveral battalions of ſepoys, clothed and diſciplined like the Engliſh; alſo a body of regular cavalry. Theſe were commanded by Gregory, an Armenian, who was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Goorgeen Khan, and was the chief confidant and adviſer of the navob. With this force he reſolved to reduce the power of the Bahar zemindars, who had hitherto been too independant on government. He commanded them all to attend his perſon. Kaumgar Khan, dreading puniſhment for his ſupport of the emperor, ſheltered himſelf in the mountainous parts of his country, and refuſed to obey the ſummons. Boonniaud Sing and Futteh Sing of Teekaury, relying on their fidelity during the laſt invaſion of Shaw Aulum for protection, came in, but were immediately ordered into confinement. Pulwaun Sing and other zemindars of Bhojepore refuſed ſubmiſſion; upon which the navob prepared to march in perſon againſt them, and detached a conſiderable force under his nephew Abou Ali Khan to reduce Kaumgar Khan.

Upon the approach of the navob, the zemindars of Bhojepore evacuated their diſtricts, and fled acroſs the Ganges into the dominions of Shujah ad Dowlah; and Meer Cauſim, having appointed confidential officers for the protection of the country, encamped for ſome time at Saſſaram, after which he returned to Patna, and from thence to Monghyr, which fortreſs he had ordered to be repaired, intending to make it his principal reſidence. During his ſtay at Saſſaram, ſeveral perſons were put to death, and others confined on ſuſpicion of treachery, which occaſioned the Engliſh to remonſtrate upon his cruelty; but as, by the articles of the treaty with him, they could not interfere in the government of the provinces, he little regarded it, thinking it ſufficient to inform them, that he had reaſons for his conduct.

As it is incumbent on the recorder of events and actions of men to ſpeak the truth, I ſhall now mention ſome of his good deeds, as I have already done the evil. Though Meer Cauſim from experience was very ſuſpicious of the fidelity of the troops of Bengal, and the attachment of the great to their patrons, and therefore, for ſlight offences, puniſhed with confiſcation and death; yet, in judicial proceedings, in criminal and civil affairs, and diſputes between man and man, in regular payment of his army and houſehold, in attention to the learned, in a liberal œconomy and well-judged bounty to all, he was the mirror of his age. Two days in the week, after the uſage of former times, he held a court of juſtice; at which he reviſed the ſentences of the inferior courts, and examined himſelf the plaintiff and defendant, with their witneſſes; ſo that it was not poſſible for any officer of juſtice to change wrong into right for a bribe. He alſo protected the owners of ſmall villages and farms from the rapacity of the great zemindars, who in the time of Ramnarain in Bahar had uſurped the rights of the poorer landholders. He coined the coſtly decorations of the [a] Imaum Bareh, prepared by Serauje ad Dowlah at the expenſes of ſome lacs, into money, and diſtributed it to the poor and pilgrims to the holy ſepulchres, with an additional ſum from his own purſe. His neglect of the claims of his dependants I never heard one perſon complain of; but it is certain

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[a] The place in which the celebration of the annual mourning for the Imâums, or family of Alee, is celebrated.

tain alſo, ſuch was their dread of his ſeverity, that no one ſlept with ſecurity in his ſervice. As Meer Cauſim wiſhed to be upon an equality in rank with the vizier Shujah ad Dowlah, he procured from the emperor the rank of eight thouſand and title of [*] Ali Jah; from which time he was never mentioned but by that appellation.

Some diſputes having ariſen between the agents of the Engliſh and the navob, concerning duties on merchandize demanded by the latter, Mr. Vanſittart paid a viſit to Meer Cauſim on his way to Patna, with a view to adjuſt them by amicable diſcuſſion, and ſettle a plan for future collection, that might be agreeable to both parties. The navob came to meet him about ſix miles from Monghyr, where he entertained him for ſome days with great ſplendour, and a review of his troops diſciplined in the European manner. The governor took this occaſion to give him ſome friendly advice. He obſerved, that he certainly had a fine army, but for his ſake hoped it never would be oppoſed to an Engliſh one, againſt which it could not ſtand; that at preſent the honour and welfare of Hindooſtan reſted with him, and nothing but his breaking with the Engliſh could diſturb them. He adviſed him to combat his countrymen only with the pen, when he would be ſure of victory, and to follow the rules which he had laid down for Europeans and natives in their conduct to each other.

At this interview Meer Cauſim complained, that much merchandize paſſed the cuſtom houſes free of duty, under the name of Engliſh trade, belonging to other perſons, by which his revenues ſuffered great loſs; therefore he hoped that all goods, but thoſe of the company, ſhould be made liable to the cuſtomary duties. The governor obſerved, that it would be difficult to annul a privilege which had been for ſome time uſual, but that he would, on his return to Calcutta, endeavour to rectify the abuſe; and adviſed him, till he ſhould hear from him on the ſubject, to permit matters to remain as they were. Meer Caulim, preſuming on this promiſe, reſolved to collect the cuſtoms, and wrote to his officers, that as he expected ſhortly permiſſion for the purpoſe, they ſhould contrive to ſtop by one pretence or other, all goods till its arrival. The officers, eager to obey, but not poſſeſſing ſufficient caution, began immediately to enforce their orders and demand duties with great rigour; upon which the Engliſh chiefs of Patna, Dacca, and other places, whoſe agents they had ill treated, took the officers of the cuſtoms priſoners, and complained to their government, from whom they had yet received no intimation of the abolition of the privilege of trade, which had not yet been agitated in council.

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[*] Exalted in dignity.

The navob was at this time on his return from an unſucceſsful expedition againſt Neipal, a country to the north eaſt of Bengal, ſaid to abound in gold, which he was eager to poſſeſs. The intelligence of the boldneſs of the Engliſh, made him return to Monghyr with greater expedition. He paſſed Patna without viſiting, as uſual, the Engliſh chief, and iſſued orders for ſeizing their native agents in the ſeveral diſtricts, and ſending them to his court. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an envoy to the emperor and Shujah ad Dowlah to ſecure their aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould find it adviſeable to break with the Engliſh.

By this precipitate conduct of the navob, Mr. Vanſittart was prevented from procuring the aſſent of his council to the plan he had intended, and obliged, by a majority of votes, to demand ſatiſfaction for the confinement of the agents, and an exemption from duties in future. The navob upon this iſſued orders to excuſe the merchandize belonging to perſons of every deſcription from duty, declaring to the council, that as the richer traders paſſed their goods under the Engliſh name to evade the cuſtoms, he muſt, to avoid the oppreſſion of the poor, wholly annihilate the collection. With regard to the releaſe of the agents, he wrote, that when his ſhould be liberated from Calcutta, and arrive at Monghyr, he would ſet theirs free.

This determination offended the prevailing party in council; who ſaid it was intended to affront them, by putting them on a footing with common merchants; that if he meant to live in amity with the Engliſh, he muſt excuſe their trade, as formerly, and collect from others; to attain which objects, they would ſend two of their body to the navob as ambaſſadors. Mr. Vanſittart, being in a minority, was obliged to execute the reſolution of council, and Meſſieurs Amyatt and Hay were ſent to Monghyr; but he wrote privately to Meer Cauſim, entreating him for his own ſake to comply for the preſent with their demands, however diſagreeable it might be to him, as a little time would bring orders from Europe, that would ſatisfy his utmoſt wiſhes; but if by his raſhneſs he ſhould provoke a war, it would be out of his power to heal the breach. The navob ſhewed this letter to Goorgeen Khan, and aſked his advice how to act, thinking, that as he had lived among the Engliſh and had a [*] brother ſettled at Calcutta, he was well informed of their genius and cuſtoms. This man, inconſiderate, and conceited of his own abilities, recommended a diſregard to the governor's advice, ſaying, that the preſent was a ſtruggle for ſuperiority between the navob and the Engliſh, and if he gave up, he would daily become more degraded, but that if he now acted with reſolution, they would be obliged to ſubmit. Meer Cauſim was overcome by his argument, and determined to follow his advice. Apprehending that the banker Juggutt Seet, in caſe of a war, might aſſiſt the Engliſh, as he had before done in the depoſition of Serauje ad Dowlah and on his own acceſſion to the muſnud, he ſent for him and his brother to Monghyr, where he commanded them to ſettle, and placed ſpies to obſerve their conduct.

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[*] Petruſe, an eminent Armenian merchant.

Theſe two perſons were grandſons to Juggutt Seet Futteh Chund, the principal merchant and banker of Hindooſtan, and inherited his immenſe wealth. They could pay a bill of exchange at ſight for a [a] corore of rupees. When, during the firſt invaſion of the Mharattas in the time of Mahabut Jung, their warehouſes were plundered of two corores, the loſs was conſidered by them as trifling. Even at this time, when, ſince the power of the Engliſh their buſineſs has decreaſed, every one of their deſcendants is in a ſtate of opulence and high credit.[b]

When Meer Cauſim heard of the ambaſſadors' arrival at Moorſhudabad, he ſent Abdoolla Suffevee and me to meet him; obſerving, that as we were intimate acquaintance of Mr. Amyatt's, he would ſpeak before us without reſerve, ſo as to enable us to inform him of the true object of the miſſion. He ſent with us twenty runners, a writer, and two head ſpies, who were to attend us, diſguiſed as ſervants whenever we ſhould viſit the Engliſh gentlemen, or they us, with orders to communicate daily to the writer what at ſuch times they might hear or ſee; the particulars of which were to be conveyed to the neareſt poſt, and forwarded by expreſs for his information. Under ſuch circumſtances we proceeded, and met Mr. Amyatt at Gunga Perſand;

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[a] A million ſterling.

[b] In the native adminiſtrations, this houſe was ſecurity for the renters of revenue; and thus the collections in general paſſed through their hands. Of late years, the Seets have leſſened their concerns. Their houſe was plundered of a vaſt ſum by Meer Cauſim, when he began his war with the Engliſh, but is yet very wealthy and reſpectable.

ſaud; but during our embrace at the firſt interview, contrived to hint to him that we were accompanied by ſpies, which prevented him from talking too freely. We had ſeveral converſations in our way to Monghyr, all of which were conveyed to the navob, by ourſelves and the ſpies; but one day, to obviate his ſuſpicions of our reſerve, I ſaid to Mr. Amyatt, "What "are the true objects of your embaſſy? we are well wiſhers "to both parties, and if you would communicate your ſentiments "freely, we will declare what we think for the benefit of both." Mr. Amyatt, with a loud voice, replied, "You, natives, ſpeak "before us what you think will pleaſe us, and in preſence of "the navob, what will pleaſe him, ſo that neither can learn "the truth; therefore I am come as ambaſſador, that he may "know our real ſentiments and we his, without intervention, "and I have no occaſion for your confidence or advice." We wrote the above to the navob, as did the ſpies alſo; and we often repeated our requeſt to the Engliſh gentlemen, that he might not ſuſpect us to be neglectful of his commands. At length, on our arrival at Bhaugulpore, we received an order, ſetting forth, that as the Engliſh gentlemen would not open their minds to us, our ſtay with them was unneceſſary. Upon this we took leave, and haſtened before them to Monghyr. When we arrived, the navob aſked us ſeveral queſtions, and then diſmiſſed us; but in a few hours after ſent for me again. When I reached the palace, Goorgeen Khan was ſitting with him, to whom the navob was relating what I had ſaid. I ſat down at a diſtance with Ali Ibrahim Khan. At length the navob called me to him, deſiring that I would repeat what I had heard from the Engliſh, to Goorgeen Khan. I did ſo; and the navob ſhewing ſigns of anger and unbelief, Goorgeen Khan obſerved, that if the breaſt of an Engliſhman was to be cut open with a dagger, it would be impoſſible to diſcover the ſentiments of his heart: then turning to me, he continued his queſtions. I had not ſaid much, when he impatiently exclaimed, "Why are you "ſo tedious? I will aſk you only your opinion on four points. "What are the cauſes of Mr. Amyatt's coming? Does he in- "tend treachery to the navob? Is he come as a ſpy, to learn "the ſtate of the fort and army? Is he come with friendly or "inimical deſigns?" I was much diſtreſſed, but replied, "I am "aſtoniſhed at your queſtions, after declaring that it is impoſſi- "ble to diſcover the ſentiments of an Engliſhman, even if you "cut his breaſt open with a dagger. How ſhould I learn Mr. "Amyatt's thoughts? As for treachery, he is without troops, "and therefore has more cauſe to apprehend it, than form de- "ſigns of practiſing it on others. With reſpect to being a ſpy, "every one who enters the fort muſt make obſervations, ſo "that he has no cauſe to come himſelf for information. As "to his intentions, they are theſe, to learn the ſentiments of "the navob from himſelf to the Engliſh. If they are friendly, "he will be ſo too; but if not, a rupture will certainly enſue "between his government and ours." The navob approved what I had ſaid, and diſmiſſed me; but Goorgeen Khan was much diſpleaſed.

Three days after the above converſation Mr. Amyatt arrived at Monghyr, and was viſited by the navob. The next day Mr. Amyatt returned the viſit, accompanied by Mr. Hay, captain Johnſon, and Mr. Gulſton, an amiable young man, who ſpoke the Perſic fluently, and two or three other gentlemen. Thoſe were meerly viſits of ceremony; ſeveral others paſſed, in which there were warm arguments and upbraidings on the part of the navob and the ambaſſadors. At one, Mr. Amyatt being treated diſreſpectfully by the attendants at the palace gate, complained of the inſult; which the navob attributed to the ignorance of his ſervants: but Mr. Amyatt knew they dared not act inſo-

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lently without the pleaſure of their maſter, and bore the affront in his mind, though, from politeneſs he accepted the excuſes.

Another day, Mr. Gulſton and captain Johnſon, agreeably to the cuſtom of the Engliſh, taking a ride into the country, were ſtopped by ſome horſemen and [a] peons, who threatened to fire upon them if they proceeded. They complained to the navob, who pleaded ignorance of the miſbehaviour of his people. Such occurrences as theſe threw daily impediments in the way of friendſhip. The navob conſulted with Ali Ibrahim Khan and other principal ſervants, who adviſed amity and forbearance to the Engliſh; which he would often determine upon, but as often altered his opinion, from the incendiary councils of Goorgeen Khan. At length, Ali Ibrahim Khan freely told him, "That "if he choſe not to follow his advice, he wiſhed to be excuſed "from his councils; but that whether he meant war or peace "with the Engliſh, it was unbecoming his own dignity and the "uſage of ſtates, to affront their ambaſſadors, whom he ought "rather to diſtinguiſh more kindly than ever." Meer Cauſim was alarmed, and altered his behaviour; upon which Goorgeen Khan left off attending the durbar.

At this time, ſome Engliſh boats laden with goods and five hundred muſquets on the way to Patna, were ſtopped by Goorgeen Khan; upon which Mr. Amyatt remonſtrated to the navob, but in vain. Ali Ibrahim Khan repreſented, that the navob was wrong in reſtraining them, for, if the Engliſh wiſhed for war, the addition of five hundred muſquets was of little conſequence. Upon this the navob aſked, if he would declare this opinion before Goorgeen Khan. He anſwered, Certainly. Meer Cauſim then ſent him to him, with Raja Nobut Roy, to aſk his opinion; but the Armenian inſolently exclaimed, "I am a ſoldier,

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[a] Foot ſoldiers.

“ and have no buſineſs to adviſe; let the navob conſult with “ his miniſters, and call for me only in the day of battle.” Raja Nobut Roy being intimidated, was ſilent; but Ali Ibrahim Khan replied, “ The navob aſks the advice of his general, and “ it is plain he has ever acted from it. Why then do you not “ give your opinion what you think will be for his intereſt.” Goorgeen Khan, placing his hands expanded together, ſaid, “ The “ navob and the Engliſh are like theſe, equal.” Then, folding the fingers of one hand, he exclaimed, “ If the navob reſolutely oppoſes Mr. Amyatt, he will be like this hand, over “ the other; but if he ſubmits to his demand, the contrary, “ cruſhed and overpowered. He is the maſter, let him act as “ he chuſes.” Ali Ibrahim Khan communicated this to the navob without reſerve. All thoughts of conciliation were laid aſide, and he prepared for war. Mr. Amyatt, ſeeing his ſtay was uſeleſs, demanded his diſmiſſion; which at firſt was refuſed, but, after much argument, the navob permitted him and the other gentlemen to depart, keeping Mr. Hay as an hoſtage for his agents in confinement at Calcutta, till they ſhould be diſcharged.

Mr. Amyatt on his departure from Monghyr wrote to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, to be upon his guard, as the diſagreement with the navob, muſt ſhortly break out into an open rupture. Mr. Ellis, who regarded a declaration of war as certain when Mr. Amyatt ſhould reach Calcutta, having allowed as many days as he thought would carry him out of danger from the navob's troops, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the city of Patna by ſurprize. Accordingly, near day break in the morning of Friday, the twelfth of Zeekaud, 1176, captain Carſtairs, with a detachment of Europeans and ſepoys, ſcaled the walls with little oppoſition, the guards being moſtly off their poſts, not ſuſpecting an attack. He then formed his troops into two diviſions, and marched firing towards the citadel, each diviſion by a ſe-

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parate ſtreet. Meer Mhadee Khan, the ſoubahdar, being informed of the attack, collected as many of his garriſon as he could, and oppoſed the enemy; but, after a ſhort ſtruggle, fled by way of the eaſtern gate, with his followers, out of the city towards Monghyr. An officer named Mahummud Ameen Khan, retired into the palace of Chehul Settoon, reſolved to defend it; and Laal Sing, the commander of the garriſon in the citadel, ſhut the gates, and fired from the walls. Except theſe two places, the whole city was now in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, whoſe troops, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, ſeparated and began to plunder the houſes of the inhabitants. Meer Mhadee Khan on his arrival at Futwah, about ſix miles from the city, met a detachment which had been ſent to reinforce him from Monghyr, and hearing alſo of the reſiſtance in the palace and citadel, he reſolved to attempt recovering the city from the Engliſh, and marched along the banks of the Ganges towards the eaſtern gate. The Engliſh on his approach drew up under the walls, with two pieces of cannon in their front, upon the bridge over the ditch; but were obliged to relinquiſh their poſt by a ſevere diſcharge of rockets; and having ſpiked the cannon, they retired towards their factory, and were purſued by the enemy. The remainder of the Engliſh in the city, being alarmed, followed the example of their companions, and having gained the factory, ſhut the gates. This being ſurrounded by the enemy, about midnight they retreated to their cantonments at Baukipore, and from thence in boats up the river to Chopperah, and towards the frontiers of Shujah ad Dowlah; but being attacked by the fojedaur of Sirkaur Saran, were obliged to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners, when they were ſent in confinement to Monghyr.

The navob Meer Cauſim, upon intelligence of this ſucceſs of his arms, iſſued immediate orders to the officers of the ſeveral diſtricts to ſlaughter every Engliſhman in them. Mr. Amyatt, unfortunately for him, was at Moorſhudabad at this time. It was in vain that he deſired to be ſent priſoner to the navob. A Jemmautdaur, named Shawſowaur Beg, put him to death with his companions, and ſent their heads to Meer Cauſim. The Engliſh factory at Cauſimbazar was plundered the ſame day.

A. D. 1763.

When intelligence of this event reached Calcutta, Mr. Vanſittart wrote to Syed Mahummud Khan, governor of Moorſhudabad, threatening him for his cruelty; obſerving that the murder of ambaſſadors was againſt the law of nations, for which he ſhould ſuffer, if it had been done without the orders of the navob his maſter; but if Meer Cauſim had commanded it, he ſhould ſee what the Almighty had determined. A council was held, but Mr. Vanſittart being much indiſpoſed, and unable to attend, he deputed Mr. Haſtings to deliver his ſentiments to the members; but ſome diſpute ariſing in the violence of debate between Mr. Batſon and Mr. Haſtings, the governor hearing of it, was alarmed for their ſafety, and, ill as he was, ordered himſelf to be carried to the council. Upon his deſiring to know the pleaſure of the members, the majority declared for war with Meer Cauſim, and the reſtoration of Meer Jaffier to the muſnud; which being determined upon, he was proclaimed at Calcutta, and preparations made for his march againſt the enemy.

Meer Cauſim Khan, on the probability of a rupture with the Engliſh, had ordered Mahummud Tukkee Khan, fojedaur of Beerboom, to march with his troops in order to oppoſe the paſſage of an enemy over the [a] Bhaugruttee; and Syed Mahummud Khan, governor of Moorſhudabad, was directed to aſſiſt him with what troops he could ſpare from the defence of the city. A reinforcement was alſo ſent from Monghyr; but on its

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[a] The river near Moorſhudabad.

arrival on the banks of the river, the chiefs in command refuſed to croſs, though Mahummud Tukkee repreſented the neceſſity of their acting in conjunction.

At this time a ſmall detachment of Engliſh ſepoys was on its way to join the army at Calcutta. Hybut Oollah Khan, the commander of the Monghyr troops, reſolved to intercept it; but the Engliſh defended themſelves in a village during a whole day againſt his attacks; and being joined by a battalion from Burdwan during the night, they marched out in the morning to give him battle, in which they were ſucceſsful, and purſued their route. The next day Mahummud Tukkee Khan attacked them. Succeſs was for ſome time doubtful. He had two horſes killed under him, and had mounted a third, when a ball lodging in his forehead, he expired, and his followers fled, yielding up the victory to the Engliſh. In this engagement, Hybut Oollah and the other chiefs from Monghyr ſtood at a diſtance, out of danger, and upon the defeat, fled towards the city. The Engliſh committed their wounded enemies to the care of their phyſicians, and remained two or three days on the field of battle, when they proceeded. Syed Mahummud Khan, upon intelligence of the defeat, without taking any meaſures for the defence of Moorſhudabad, or even ſecuring the effects of Meer Cauſim, fled from the city; upon which Mahummud Eeeruch Khan, the father in law of Serauje ad Dowlah, aſſuming the command in the name of Meer Jaffier, went to meet him. In a few days Meer Jaffier with the Engliſh army arrived at the capital, and proclaimed ſecurity to the inhabitants. After a ſhort ſtay, he proceeded towards Monghyr, to engage the army of Meer Cauſim, which was advancing from that fortreſs.

Meer Cauſim Khan, upon intelligence of the defeat and death of Mahummud Tukkee Khan, was much alarmed. He ordered the remnant of the beaten army to take poſt at Sootee, and reinforced them with ſix thouſand horſe under Aſſud Oollah Khan, fojedaur of Terhoot, the rocket men of Meer Naſir, and ſeven or eight battalions of ſepoys, with ſixteen pieces of cannon, commanded by Maulkar an Armenian, and Sumroo a German, in order to oppoſe the advance of the enemy. Sheer Ali Khan, fojedaur of Poorneah, with the troops of that diſtrict, alſo joined them.

On Tueſday, the ſeventh of Mohirrim, 1177, the Engliſh army reached Sootee, and an engagement took place, which ended in the ſucceſs of the enemies of Meer Cauſim, though they did not exceed more than three thouſand men, Europeans and ſepoys. The defeated army fled without halting till they reached the brook of Oodwah, on the banks of which Meer Cauſim had thrown up ſtrong entrenchments. Meer Cauſim had, upon the former defeat, ſent his women and treaſures for ſecurity to the fort of Rhotas, and he now prepared to march in perſon to Oodwah from Monghyr. As he was naturally prone to ſhed blood, and this diſpoſition was encreaſed by the inſtigation of Goorgeen Khan, in this ſeaſon of alarm, he reſolved on the ſlaughter of ſeveral perſons, whom he had impriſoned on ſuſpicion of their fidelity. The principal of theſe were, Raja Ramnarain, Raja Raujeboolub, Meeraun's dewan, the Roy-royan, Ameed Ram, with his ſon, Raja Futteh Sing of Teekaury, and ſeveral other principal zemindars. All theſe he put to death; and it is ſaid, the firſt was drowned with a bag of ſand tied round his neck. The Engliſh captives were confined more ſtrictly, and Goorgeen Khan adviſed their death; but the navob had a private reaſon in his own breaſt for as yet preſerving their lives. His army, according to the wretched cuſtom of Hindooſtan in a ſeaſon of diſtreſs, began to be diſorderly; but he kept them from mutiny by gentleneſs, and A.D. 1763.

marched as far as the Nullah of Chinnanuggur, where he halted, and detached ſeveral bodies to join the troops at Oodwah. He would have ſent Goorgeen Khan to command, but the Armenian evaded his wiſhes, by pretending that he had vowed to remain for the defence of his perſon, from which he could not ſeparate.

At this time, Meerza Nujeef Khan, who had fled from the perſecution of his relation Shujah ad Dowlah the vizier, came to offer his ſervices, with his followers; which Meer Cauſim gladly accepted, and ſent him to join the troops at Oodwah. Theſe, confiding in the ſtrength of their ſituation, were immerſed in ſloth and pleaſure, ſelf-ſecure from the attack of an enemy, but too cowardly to offer battle. Meerza Nujeef Khan ſhortly after his arrival at the camp, willing to deſerve the favour of Meer Cauſim, having ſelected a band in whom he could confide, iſſued one night from the entrenchments, and fording a piece of water in the rear of the Engliſh camp, where Meer Jaffier's tents were pitched, attacked the enemy about daybreak. Meer Jaffier fled to his boats; but his allies coming ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance, repulſed Nujeef Khan; who, however, frequently alarmed them by ſimilar attacks. Theſe occaſioned the Engliſh to endeavour to explore the way by which he came upon them, but for ſome days in vain.

At length, a deſerter from their camp, who had embraced the navob Meer Cauſim's ſervice, of which he had grown weary, and wiſhed to return to his countrymen, having obſerved the route of Nujeef Khan, one night purſued it, and fording the lake, placed ſtakes to mark the paſſage. Reaching the camp of the Engliſh, he communicated the diſcovery he had made, and offered himſelf as guide to ſurprize the enemy, on condition that he ſhould be pardoned his deſertion, which was readily granted.

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granted. Scaling ladders being prepared, on the night fixed for the attack, the grenadiers of the army, putting their cartouch boxes on their heads, began to ford the lake. It was agreed, that on their aſcending the entrenchments a portfire ſhould be lighted, as a ſignal to the camp, when an attack was alſo to be made on a bridge over the brook of Oodwah. The grenadiers, after a difficult march of near a mile up to the waiſt in water, gained the ſhore under the entrenchments. The guards, depending on the improbability of an enemy's croſſing the lake, were aſleep; and the Engliſh, mounting the walls by their ladders, entered the camp. At this time, a trumpeter awaking, diſcovered them, but was diſpatched by a bayonet before he could ſound an alarm. They lighted their portfire and ruſhed upon the ſleeping guards. At the ſame inſtant, the Engliſh from the camp attacked the bridge, and made a heavy diſcharge of cannon and howitzers. The grenadiers commenced a dreadful firing within, with great ſlaughter. The enemy were too much confuſed to reſiſt them, and every one tried only to effect his eſcape from between two fires, the Engliſh troops having now forced the bridge and entered on that ſide. Malkaur and Sumroo had fled with their battalions on the firſt alarm, and ſuffered little loſs; but numbers of the other troops were killed by the fire of the Engliſh, and many drowned in croſſing a brook in their flight. Aſſud Oollah Khan, deſerted by his attendants, was obliged to run ſome diſtance on foot before he could procure a horſe. Meerza Nujeef Khan with his followers fled into the hills. A great plunder fell into the hands of the victors, with little loſs on their ſide.

The intelligence of this defeat plunged Meer Cauſim into deſpair. He left his camp privately the night after, haſtened to Monghyr, and was followed by his army the next day in great diſorder. At Monghyr he remained a few days to ſecure his effects, and revive the exhauſted ſpirits of the troops. At this time, Ali Ibrahim Khan adviſed him to releaſe the Engliſh priſoners, and permit them to join their friends, as a means of ſoftening their reſentment; but, at all events, if he did not chuſe to releaſe the men, to ſend the women in boats with a meſſage to major Adams. Meer Cauſim adviſed with Goorgeen Khan, who refuſed his aſſent. Arab Ali Khan with two battalions of ſepoys, being left to garriſon Monghyr, the naveb moved towards Patna, carrying with him the Engliſh captives, who ſuffered great hardſhips from the want of proper accommodations. When he approached the *Rowah Nullah, he halted, intending to make a ſtand; but this reſolution was laid aſide by the ſudden death of Goorgeen Khan.

This man was univerſally hated by the troops for his ſeverity and pride. He had introduced the Engliſh diſcipline, and wanted, like them, to keep up the ſame order and reſpect in time of diſtreſs as of good fortune, never conſidering that they poſſeſs qualities peculiar to themſelves, which enable them to maintain ſuch order over their ſervants at all times. He had the preſumption to flatter himſelf, that an Armenian, always uſed to trade, could oblige ſtrangers to ſubmit to a diſcipline they had never been accuſtomed to.

To proceed: Meer Cauſim halted a few coſs from the Rowah. Goorgeen Khan, according to cuſtom, remained to guard the rear of the army. He was ſitting in a ſmall tent, when ſome troopers came to demand their pay. He gave them abuſive language, which they returned; and being enraged, he called for his attendants to carry them to the guard; but the troopers, drawing their ſabres, cut him down, and made their eſcape. Confuſion prevailed in the camp, and Malkaur fired ſome

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* A rivulet in Bahar.

ſome ſhot at the murderers. The report of the cannon reached the navob, who, thinking the Engliſh had attacked Goorgeen Khan, was ſo alarmed, that he mounted his elephant and fled. The troops followed his example, and during the whole night were employed in croſſing a bridge of boats thrown acroſs the Rowah. Meer Cauſim now advanced haſtily to Patna.

On his way, he put to death the two bankers, Juggutt Seet and Raja Serroop Chand. On his arrival near the city, he halted for ſome days at the gardens of Jaffier Khan, and entruſted the defence of Patna to Mahummud Ameen Khan. Upon hearing that the enemy had taken Monghyr, in a fit of rage, he ordered Sumroo to put the Engliſh priſoners to death; who, notwithſtanding his being of one of the ſects of chriſtians, complied with the order. He proceeded during the night to the houſe of Hajee Ahmud, brother to Mahabut Jung, where they were confined, and diſpatched them, his ſepoys firing into their apartments. It is ſaid, they made what reſiſtance they could, by throwing bottles and ſtones at their murderers. I have heard alſo, that a few days before, they had endeavoured to bribe their guards to give them arms, with a deſign of effecting their eſcape, or dying in the attempt. Doctor Fullarton was the only one who was ſpared, he having been of great ſervice in his profeſſion to ſeveral chiefs, and eſteemed by Meer Cauſim.

The morning after this maſſacre, of which I was ignorant, I happened to go to the durbar, and after ſome time was riſing to take leave, when the navob deſired me to ſtay, ſaying, that a friend of mine was coming; but immediately after ordered me to depart, and he would ſend for me when he came. I repaired to my tent, and in a ſhort time was called by a meſſenger from Meer Cauſim. Soon after my arrival, Doctor

Fullarton was brought to the durbar in an Indian dreſs, and according to the cuſtom of our country, preſented ſome rupees as an offering, which the navob refuſed, ſaying, " This has not " been uſual between us;" and embraced him, commanding him to ſit near me, which he did. Meer Cauſim, addreſſing him, ſaid, " How can you juſtify treachery to friends? You received " the Engliſh troops into your houſe, on pretence of indiſpoſi-" tion, to ſurprize my people." The Doctor with much fortitude replied, " I fear not death; you have murdered my " companions, and may kill me; but I am innocent of the " charge of treachery, as you may find on enquiry from my " neighbours, and one of them, Ukkedutmund Khan, is preſent." As this charge was without foundation, it was immediately diſproved by the khan and others; upon which the navob ſpoke kindly, and told him he might go to Calcutta, or ſtay with him, as ſuited his inclination. The doctor prudently declined the former offer. Meer Cauſim hoped, that through him Mr. Vanſittart might be induced to grant him peace, and deſired me to retire with him, and ſound him on the ſubject. I did ſo; but the Doctor declared, that after the maſſacre of Mr. Amyatt and ſo many Engliſhmen, a reconciliation was impoſſible. Upon my communicating this, the navob called him to him, and queſtioned him himſelf; but receiving the ſame reply, deſiſted from urging him further on the buſineſs, ſaying, that " ſince he " would not go to Calcutta, he might ſtay where he pleaſed." The doctor requeſted he would fix him a reſidence; and the navob ordered Ali Ibrahim Khan to give him a houſe in the city, but to put perſons over him, to take care that he did not converſe with his people: he alſo took the bail of Himmut Ali Khan for his ſecurity.

The Engliſh, having had Monghyr delivered up to them by the treachery of the governor, Arab Ali Khan, were advancing faſt towards Patna; upon which Meer Cauſim moved to Bikkrum Serai, ſome diſtance from the city, ſtationing troops in different poſts to keep up the communication with his camp. About this time, Dr. Fullarton having eſcaped with his bail's-man to the Dutch factory, croſſed the river in a ſmall boat, and joined ſome Engliſh troops who were on the oppoſite bank.

The Engliſh army, arriving at Patna, gained poſſeſſion of that city with little trouble, the walls being in a ruinous ſtate, and unable to ſtand againſt cannon. Meer Cauſim now retreated towards the frontiers of Bahar, and ſent for his women and treaſures from the fort of Rhotas, intending to retire into the country of the vizier for protection. Meerza Nujeef Khan, who had experienced the treachery of Shujah ad Dowlah, adviſed him againſt putting himſelf into his power, offering if he would truſt him with the command of his troops to tire out the Engliſh, by falſe attacks and cutting off their ſupplies from the country, while Meer Cauſim might remain ſecurely at Rhotas. The navob refuſed his offers, alleging, that the air of Rhotas was dangerouſly unhealthy; but it is probable he was fearful of giving him the command of the army. Nujeef Khan then propoſed his returning into [a] Bondelcund, and calling the Mharattas to his aſſiſtance; but this he declined, from a dread of the rapacity of thoſe marauders; and reſolved to join the emperor and vizier. Intelligence now arrived that the Engliſh were rapidly advancing, and had ſent a detachment over the river to oppoſe his retreat on that ſide; which ſo alarmed him, that he moved immediately to Saſſaram, and the next day continued his march to the banks of the rivulet Dergautty. Here the troops became clamorous for payment of their arrears, and the camp was a ſcene of confuſion. The next morning Nujeef Khan took his leave, not chuſing to truſt himſelf in the vizier's country, when the navob preſented him with a lac and half of rupees, and five elephants. At this time, a treaty under the vizier's ſeal, promiſing by oath on the Koraun protection and aſſiſtance, arriving, Meer Cauſim croſſed the [*]Carumnaſſa, and entered the diſtrict of Bulwund Sing, ſubject to Shujah ad Dowlah. He proceeded to Banaras, where he halted ſome days, and diſcharged a conſiderable part of his troops, keeping only his diſciplined ſepoys, artillery, and a ſelected body of cavalry. Meerza Nujeef Khan retired into Bondelcund, and entered into the ſervice of the raja of that country.

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[a] A territory weſt of the Jumna, belonging to a tribe of Raajepootes called Bondelas.

The emperor and Shujah ad Dowlah being encamped at Aleabad, preparatory to an expedition into Bondelcund, Meer Cauſim marched to join them. Upon his arrival within a few coſs of the camp, the vizier came in great pomp to meet him, and was received with equal magnificence, ſuperb tents being pitched for his reception, and the troops ranged in two lines from them to a great diſtance. Meer Cauſim and his principal attendants in rich dreſſes met him at the entrance of his tent, when the two navobs embraced and ſat down on the ſame muſnud. After a ſhort converſation and the uſual ceremony of valuable preſents of rich cloths, jewels and elephants on the part of Meer Cauſim, they mounted an elephant together, and repaired to viſit the emperor. The day following, Meer Cauſim returned the vizier's viſit, and was received with the higheſt honours, and encouraged by promiſes of his utmoſt efforts to recover Bengal from the hands of the Engliſh. A few days after, he preſented to the vizier, jewels to the amount of ſome lacs of rupees, a chariot drawn by elephants ſumptuouſly capariſoned with embroidered houſings to his begum, and very valuable gifts to his mother, who had honoured Meer Cauſim with the appellation of ſon.

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[*] A river ſeparating Bahar and Banaras, then belonging to Shujah ad Dowlah.

Meer Cauſim preſſing Shujah ad Dowlah to loſe no time in marching againſt the Engliſh, he pleaded that he was at preſent employed againſt the Bondelas, who had refuſed payment of their revenues; upon which Meer Cauſim offered to reduce them with his battalions; and the vizier conſenting, he croſſed the Jumna, and laid ſiege ſucceſsfully to one of their forts. The enemy, alarmed at this loſs, and impreſſed with awe by the battalions of ſepoys clothed after the European mode, their ſuperior diſcipline, and the artillery, offered ſubmiſſion through Nujeef Khan; and Meer Cauſim, having adjuſted affairs to the ſatisfaction of the vizier, returned to his camp. It was now agreed to march againſt the Engliſh, and the allied armies moved to Banaras, to make preparations, Meer Cauſim promiſing to pay the vizier [*] eleven lacs of rupees monthly, from the day he ſhould croſs the Ganges into the province of Bahar, till the concluſion of the war.

A bridge of boats being thrown acroſs the Ganges, the allied armies began their march, in numbers not to be reckoned, covering the country far as the eye could reach; but, from the ignorance of the generals, and want of diſcipline, murdering and plundering each other. It was not an army, but rather, a moving nation. Some of his more diſcerning miniſters repreſented to the vizier, that he ſhould not truſt to ſuperiority of numbers againſt the Engliſh, or engage them in a general action, but rather ſelect his beſt troops, and leave the reſt, with his women and the ſuperfluous followers of the camp, on his frontiers, when he would be ſure of victory by haraſſing the enemy with continued alarms and cutting off ſupplies of proviſions;

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[*] One hundred and ten thouſand pounds.

in which caſe, they would by degrees be obliged to retreat. The vizier, vain of his power, liſtened not to advice, and thought meanly of the Engliſh: who on their parts, fatigued with the late campaign during a rainy ſeaſon, and alarmed at the reports of the abilities of the vizier and the vaſtneſs of his army, had marched from Buxar, and were retreating towards Patna. The emperor, Shujah ad Dowlah, and Meer Cauſim, having entered the province of Bahar, followed them, their diſorderly troops ſpreading deſolation for miles round their line of march; which ſo much diſguſted the inhabitants, who before were anxious for the ſucceſs of the vizier, that they changed their wiſhes into prayers for the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, who had never moleſted them. The Engliſh having placed their heavy baggage and ſuperfluous followers in Patna, returned as far as Arole to oppoſe the allies; but, finding themſelves unable to keep the field, retreated again to the neighbourhood of that city, and threw up entrenchments to defend themſelves, being cloſely purſued by the enemy; who, elated by this ſucceſs, became ſtill more confident of victory.

Shujah ad Dowlah, after halting one day at Phulwauree, about four Engliſh miles from Patna, marched the next morning to attack the enemy, who defended themſelves gallantly againſt three ſeveral aſſaults; and on the approach of night, the vizier returned to his tents, having loſt a great number of men by the enemy's fire. Meer Cauſim greatly offended his ally by ſtaying at a great diſtance with his battalions, and neglecting to move to his aſſiſtance when required. Nothing farther was attempted for ſome days, the vizier being indiſpoſed, according to one report, from a wound he had received in the action, and by another, of a violent eruption of boils. On his recovery, he moved his camp to the ſouth of the city, but did nothing, except now and then ſhewing himſelf under arms, major

Carnac, the Engliſh commander, with Mhadee Khan, who had joined him from the army of Meer Cauſim, and a few ſepoys, being one day reconnoitring, met the vizier, who was riding for the ſame purpoſe, with ſome of his attendants, ignorant of each other, they began firing at a diſtance. Upon their nearer approach, the vizier was known, and pointed out by Meer Mhadee to the major, who ſent for a reinforcement. A ſkirmiſh was kept up, till more Engliſh troops advancing, one of the vizier's attendants rode haſtily to his camp, to give the alarm of his danger, and the vizier, ſeeing the ſuperiority of the enemy, turned his horſe and made his eſcape.

A month elapſed in inactivity; and the rains approaching, the allies, not chuſing to remain longer before Patna, retreated towards Buxar, where they continued, intending to return after the wet ſeaſon. My father, who had come from his jaghire to pay his reſpects to the emperor, was in the camp; and I, being diſguſted with Meer Cauſim, had left his ſervice and joined his majeſty. Doctor Fullarton, with whom and ſeveral other Engliſhmen I was intimately acquainted, had frequently written to me to perſuade the emperor to quit the vizier, and join them. I communicated this to my father, obſerving, that ſuch a ſtep would certainly prove for his majeſty's welfare, as, from the irregularity of the allied army, the Engliſh muſt in the end be victorious. My father and Moneer ad Dowlah propoſed it to the emperor; who, weary of the neglect and diſreſpect ſhewn him by Shujah ad Dowlah, wiſhed to free himſelf from his hands, and join the Engliſh. His majeſty accordingly wrote a letter with his own hand, teſtifying his wiſhes of accepting the ſervices of the Engliſh, and deſiring that they would regard as his ſentiments only what was conveyed in his own hand writing, or through me by meſſage. With this letter I departed for Patna, my father at the ſame time retiring to his jaghire. Upon my arrival, I found that a great coolneſs had taken place between major Carnac and Dr. Fullarton. I was however introduced to the former, in preſence of the navob Meer Jaffier, and delivered the letter, which the major received with great reſpect, placing it, according to cuſtom, on his head. Upon hearing the contents, he told me, "That as his majeſty was not at preſent "in a ſituation to act from himſelf, but dependant on the vizier, "he could not obey his orders, or negotiate with him." An anſwer was given me; but as I ſaw my endeavours were vain, I ſent it to the emperor by a courier, and returned home. The major having given the letter to his ſervant Sadooram, he diſpatched a copy to Shittabroy, the deputy of Beny Bahadur, miniſter to the vizier.

During my ſtay at my father's jaghire, I heard of the vizier's confining Meer Cauſim and confiſcating his effects; the particulars of which, as given me afterwards by Ali Ibrahim Khan, I ſhall relate.

Meer Cauſim had agreed to pay the vizier for his aſſiſtance eleven lacs of rupees monthly during the war; but, finding that it was likely to be of long continuance, he wiſhed to be out of his power, in caſe his reſources ſhould fail him before the concluſion. With this view he made a requeſt to the vizier, through Ali Ibrahim Khan, that he would permit him to march towards Moorſhudabad and collect the revenues of the country, which he could readily effect, while the Engliſh had the vizier to employ their attention. Shujah, in reply, expreſſed fears that Meer Cauſim might not return to him again, but ſaid, he would detach another perſon to raiſe contributions in his name; which however he never did, and Meer Cauſim received no ſupply from the provinces. A few days afterwards, the vizier demanded payment of his ſubſidy, and Meer Cauſim pleaded inability. Shujah ad Dowlah then pretended that the emperor was preſſing for the Bengal tribute, and had reſolved to ſend his officers to ſeize his effects. Upon this, Meer Cauſim diſpatched Ali Ibrahim Khan to beſeech the protection of his ally from the royal demands; but the vizier replied, that he could not interfere, and he muſt ſettle his accounts with the emperor. Meer Cauſim was covered with deſpair, and adviſed with Ali Ibrahim Khan; who recommended him to pay the demands of the vizier, if he had money; or if he had not, to go to him himſelf, and remind him of his promiſes of protection. Meer Cauſim neglecting this, thought it ſafeſt to *aſſume the habit of a devotee, thinking that the vizier would relent, not chuſing to have it ſaid of him, that he had reduced an ally to ſuch a ſituation. The next morning, he with his friends aſſumed ſacred habits, and, laying aſide the muſnud, ſeated himſelf on a bare mat. Intelligence of this proceeding being carried to Shujah ad Dowlah, he affected much concern, and repaired to Meer Cauſim; whom, after much argument and aſſurances of friendſhip, he prevailed upon to change his habit, and reaſſume his uſual ſtate. A few days after this event, Sumroo the German, who commanded the diſciplined battalions, ſurrounded the tents of Meer Cauſim, clamorous for pay; and the navob having no rupees, was obliged to ſatisfy them with gold from his haram; after which he told Sumroo, that as it was not in his power to keep them longer, he muſt diſcharge them his ſervice; but deſired he would deliver the arms and accoutrements of the ſepoys, with the cannon, to the officer of his arſenal. Sumroo inſolently replied, that they now belonged to thoſe who poſſeſſed them, and treacherouſly deſerted with the battalions to the vizier, who received him into his ſervice; and being

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* Doing this is regarded as a great reflection on a patron.

being now convinced that Meer Cauſim had a ſecret treaſure, reſolved to ſeize it.

The following night, Monſieur Gentil, a Frenchman, formerly in the ſervice of Meer Cauſim, but now of the vizier, coming with five or ſix of his countrymen to the tents of Ali Ibrahim Khan, with whom he was intimately acquainted, informed him, that on the morrow Meer Cauſim would be taken priſoner and his effects ſeized by the vizier, when there would be much confuſion in the camp; on which account, leſt any injury ſhould happen to his friend, he had brought his countrymen to ſtay with him till the danger ſhould be over. Ali Ibrahim Khan thanked him for his friendſhip, but declined accepting his offer, as it would have the appearance of his having deſerted Meer Cauſim, and put himſelf under the protection of the vizier.

About nine the next morning the vizier's army ſurrounded the tents of the navob; guards were placed over them, and Meer Cauſim, being forced to mount an elephant, was carried priſoner to the camp of his ally. Mr. Gentil again offered his ſervices to Ali Ibrahim Khan, but he again refuſed, determined to ſhare the fate of his patron. In the evening he was called to the vizier's tent, and received with much attention by him, who aſked him ſeveral queſtions concerning Meer Cauſim, hoping, from his replies, to draw ſome apology for his own conduct towards him.

Shujah ad Dowlah firſt ſaid, "What evil had I done to "Ali Jah, that, on the day of my attacking the Engliſh at "Patna, he ordered Sumroo to fire upon me, as I was re-"turning to my tents in the evening?" Ali Ibrahim replied, "I am ignorant of ſuch an order; and woe be to the navob,

“ if he could thus treacherouſly act towards a friend, who had “ left his own government, and encountered ſuch an enemy as “ the Engliſh, to reſtore him to his loſt power and dignity.” The vizier being angry, ſaid, “ Do I ſpeak falſely? I can “ call Sumroo to declare it in the preſence of Ali Jah and “ yourſelf.” He replied, “ I do not contradict your highneſs; “ but at preſent my maſter is ſo reduced, that the teſtimony “ of his loweſt menial may be brought againſt him, and Sum- “ roo is a man of power compared to him.” Shujah ad Dowlah was aſhamed, and began to ſoothe Ali Ibrahim, ſaying, “ I know your virtues, but Meer Cauſim was ever ſuſpicious “ of you, and often ſpoke againſt you privately.” He replied, “ I am conſcious of no crime againſt him, but that on his re- “ treat from Patna, when ſome perſons adviſed him to fly to “ Dekkan and ſeek refuge with the Mharattas, I importunately “ beſought him to apply to the emperor and your highneſs, “ thinking the throne and vizarut the only fit aſylums for Meer “ Cauſim.” Shujah ad Dowlah to this made no reply; but, after ſome compliments to the fidelity of Ali Ibrahim, retired into his haram, leaving Beny Bahadur, his miniſter, and other ſervants to put further queſtions to him. He was now deſired, as he muſt be entruſted with the ſecrets of Meer Cauſim, to inform in whoſe hands he had depoſited his treaſures, and to deliver up forty thouſand gold mhors, which Nuttoo Sing, Sumroo's ſpy, had ſaid were committed to his charge. He deſired that Nuttoo Sing might be called in; which being complied with, he obſerved before him, that the different offices, from the water-houſe to the jewels, had been under the charge of Sumroo, who had alſo received a [*] lack of gold mhors in truſt from the navob, of whoſe property he alone could give an account. Nuttoo Sing denying this, Ali Ibrahim Khan obſerved to Beny Bahadur, that ſince the affirmation, of one like himſelf in the confidence of Meer Cauſim, were not believed, he might judge what degree of credit was due to the information of a wretched ſpy. Upon this, Beny Bahadur, convinced of his ſincerity, informed the vizier of what had paſſed, and Ali Ibrahim Khan was permitted to retire without further moleſtation, and to keep poſſeſſion of his effects. A ſtrict exaction of the treaſures of Meer Cauſim was made by the vizier from his women, eunuchs, and ſervants, to a great amount; but a conſiderable number of valuable jewels, which he had ſent away before the alarm, under charge of a faithful domeſtic, named Shekh Mahummud Aſhuk, into the Rohilla country, were ſaved, and honeſtly delivered up to him again, when he eſcaped from the hands of Shujah ad Dowlah. It is probable, the women and eunuchs alſo might ſave ſomething, notwithſtanding the ſtrictneſs of the ſearch.

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[*] One hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

The vizier, being deſirous of poſſeſſing the fort of Rhotas, which ſtill held out for Meer Cauſim, ſent Meer Solymaun to negotiate with the kelladaar for its delivery. I had, before his arrival, received a letter from major Munro, through doctor Fullarton, expreſſing his deſire that I would endeavour to bring over the kelladaar to Meer Jaffier's intereſt; and, accordingly, I repreſented to him the probability of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh, and the advantages he would derive to himſelf and his family by ſecuring their friendſhip. Raja Shawmul was a prudent man, and cautiouſly weighed the propoſals of Meer Solymaun and myſelf; but at length he reſolved to follow my advice; and giving me a paper with certain conditions for the acceptance of major Munro, I ſent it to him, with a requeſt that he would diſpatch a force to garriſon the fort, which would be delivered on his ratifying the raja's demands. The major complied, and captain Goddard arriving with a detachment, Rhotas was put into his poſſeſſion; upon which Meer Solymaun returned to the vizier, and complained of my being the cauſe of his diſappointment. Some diſagreement occurring between captain Goddard and Shawmul, the latter deſired that I would go with him to Patna, and obtain from major Munro the performance of his agreement; and I, being fearful of the reſentment of the vizier, gladly accompanied him.

I muſt now return to the affairs of Meer Jaffier and the Engliſh, after the retreat of the allied army from the neighbourhood of Patna.

Meer Jaffier at the concluſion of the campaign, upon the retreat of the allies, repaired to Calcutta, having affairs of importance to ſettle with the council, and left the government of Patna and the direction of his army to his brother Meer Cauſim Khan, appointing Deeraujе Narain, brother to the late Raja Ramnarain, his deputy over the province of Bahar. This man was incapable of buſineſs, and had no other claim to favour than the murder of his brother by Meer Cauſim. In the ſame manner, all who had enjoyed his favour, were now expoſed to the reſentment of Meer Jaffier, and obliged to remain in concealment, till his death enabled them to return to their habitations. Thoſe who had been diſliked by Meer Cauſim were entruſted with the direction of affairs in every department. Meer Jaffier remained ſome time at Calcutta, endeavouring to prevail on the council to admit of *Nundcomar's being his firſt miniſter; but Mr. Vanſittart, knowing the navob's weakneſs and the bad qualities of his favourite would not conſent, dreading the oppreſſions of the people, from Nundcomar's tyrannical diſpoſition, which had been already experienced. The navob departed, much diſappointed, to Moorſhudabad without his confidant, whoſe return, however, ſoon after took place; and, notwithſtanding the earneſt remonſtrances of Mr. Vanſittart, he was entruſted by

Meer

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* Afterwards executed for forgery.

Meer Jaffier with the ſole direction of his affairs. By his advice, Mahummud Reza Khan, the governor of Dacca, was confined; but afterwards releaſed on the interference of the Engliſh.

A.D. 1764.

About this time, Meer Jaffier being taken ill, continued to decline, till at length, on Tueſday, the fourteenth of Shauban, 1178, he departed from this unſtable world. He would willingly have concluded a peace with Shujah ad Dowlah, and given up the province of Bahar to him, with a tribute to the emperor for Bengal; to which conditions it is probable the Engliſh alſo would have aſſented on aſſurances of protection in their trade. But the vizier was too haughty to be ſatisfied with leſs than the conqueſt of the three provinces. Shujah ad Dowlah, however, with ſuch high pretenſions and ſo powerful an army, had not conduct to exert his force, though too proud to liſten to the advice of his intelligent friends.

The Engliſh council, ſeeing that the vizier would not liſten to any reaſonable terms of accommodation, iſſued orders to major Munro, who had ſuperſeded major Carnac, to march againſt the enemy cantoned at Buxar. Accordingly, the major, having muſtered his army, and provided ten days proviſions, reſolving in that ſpace to conquer or die, began his march. The vizier, informed of his intention, detached a body of Mogul horſe to haraſs his line, and withdrew ſome cannon which had been planted on the banks of the river Soan; but the main army remained in cantonments, ſtrongly defended by entrenchments, which the vizier hoped would defend him from the enemy, till they ſhould be obliged to retire for freſh ſupplies.

At length major Munro arrived within a ſhort diſtance, and encamped on the border of a moraſs, which now divided the two armies, who remained in ſight of each other inactive for two days. On the third, the vizier altered his reſolution, and reſolved to attack the enemy, taking upon himſelf the command of the Mogul cavalry. Sumroo and Mr. Maddoc, with eight battalions of ſepoys, and eight field pieces, formed the front line; to ſupport which, Shujah Koollee Khan was ſtationed in their rear with his own followers, about ſeven thouſand horſe and foot. The vizier took poſt at a diſtance on their right, and the miniſter Beny Bahadur occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, to their left. A ſharp firing of cannon and muſquetry commenced, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. The vizier haraſſed the enemy in flank, and the Duranny horſe charging major Munro's cavalry, penetrated his line, which began to be confuſed from this attack and the cannonade of Maddoc and Sumroo, whom the Engliſh could not charge, owing to the moraſs which divided them in front. Major Munro detached a force to diſlodge Beny Bahadur from the village, which being effected, occaſioned ſome alarm in the vizier's army. At this time, Shujah Koollee Khan ſeeing Beny Bahadur engaged, anxious to have his ſhare in the action, quitted his ſtation, in the rear of the battalions, and attempted to charge through the moraſs in their front, by this means obliging them to deſiſt from firing upon the enemy, leſt they ſhould injure their friends. He gained the bank, only to fall an immediate ſacrifice, with moſt of his followers who had the valour to accompany him, to the grape ſhot of the Engliſh; and the ſurvivors fled upon the death of their chief. The party which had routed Beny Bahadur, at this inſtant entered the camp of the vizier, which was now thrown into complete diſorder. No one had time to regard his baggage, looking only for perſonal ſafety by flight; and the Mogul and Duranny cavalry, ſeeing all loſt, deſerted their patron, and began to plunder his tents. Shujah ad Dowlah, left almoſt alone, was obliged to follow the route of his army. All the baggage of the vizier and his chiefs, with a great treaſure belonging to the bankers and merchants in money and goods, fell a prey to the enemy, and the treacherous deſerters and camp followers above mentioned, who plundered each other afterwards. A great train of artillery and numerous tents were taken by the Engliſh. It is impoſſible to eſtimate the amount of the plunder, as the cantonments reſembled rather a populous city than a camp. Great numbers of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to croſs a rivulet in their flight. Meer Cauſim was releaſed by the vizier, who alſo had preſented him with a ſorry female elephant the day before the action, which enabled him to make his eſcape from the field to the neighbourhood of Banaras. Shujah ad Dowlah fled to Aleabad, leaving his miniſter Beny Bahadur to eſcort the emperor; but Shaw Aulum, who was diſguſted with the vizier, refuſing to accompany him, Beny Bahadur after a few days croſſed the Ganges, being fearful of the purſuit of the Engliſh.

The emperor being now his own maſter, by the advice of Munneer ad Dowlah, called upon the Engliſh for their protection, who obeyed the ſummons, and conducted him to Banaras. They alſo invited Beny Bahadur to an interview, and held out offers of peace to the vizier his maſter, provided he would deliver Meer Cauſim and Sumroo into their hands. The raja promiſed the former, but pleaded inability to effect the latter, as he was at the head of his battalions, who would defend him. While a negotiation was carrying on, Ali Ibrahim Khan diſcovering the intentions of the raja, informed Meer Cauſim Khan, who found means to make his eſcape into the Rohilla country, with his family and few remaining friends. At Aleabad he found his women, who, after being plundered by the vizier's people, of what little they had left from the general confiſcation, had been releaſed from confinement in the fort, and left without protection at an obſcure houſe in the city.

Shujah ad Dowlah thinking himſelf unſafe longer in his own dominions, on his arrival at Aleabad diſpatched confidential ſervants to his capitals of Lucnow and Fyezabad, to eſcort his women and effects at thoſe places to Burrelli, the reſidence of Hafiz Rhamut, a Rohilla chief; where he alſo repaired with his mother and Begum from Aleabad. He refuſed to liſten to the advice of Beny Bahadur to accept terms from the Engliſh, thinking it would degrade his character in the empire, and hoping to recover his loſſes by the aſſiſtance of the Afghauns and Mulhar Raow Mharatta; but in order to gain time, he ſent his miniſter to Lucnow, inſtructing him to amuſe the enemy with negotiations, which would keep up his authority in the province. He, notwithſtanding their family hatred, viſited Ahmud Khan Bunguſh at Ferokhabad, and entreated his aſſiſtance; who, with the other Rohilla chiefs, promiſed to ſupport him, as did alſo Ghazi ad Dien Khan, then at that city. By their advice, he called in Mulhar Raow, who was with an army of Mharattas in the vicinity of Gualior. Mulhar, on the promiſe of a large ſum of money, joined him; but Ahmud Khan and the Rohilla chiefs amuſed him only with promiſes, and brought no troops to his aſſiſtance.

Raja Beny Bahadur having proceeded to Lucnow, wrote to Shittabroy, who was employed by the Engliſh, that Shujah ad Dowlah would not conſent to peace on the proferred conditions; that Meer Cauſim had eſcaped from his hands, and he could not take Sumroo but by treachery, which he abhorred; therefore reſolved to continue the war. The miniſter, agreeably to the plan formed between himſelf and the vizier, declared his own readineſs to join the Engliſh; and Shittabroy, deceived by his declaration, recommended his being received, to general Carnac, who had now reaſſumed the command of the army at Banaras in the room of major Munro. The general accordingly invited

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Beny Bahadur to an interview; upon which he came to the camp, and was graciouſly received. He remained till ſuch time as Shujah ad Dowlah was joined by the Mharattas at Korah, when he left the Engliſh, under pretence of ſettling the diſtricts of the province, and returned with his followers to the vizier, a ſmall eſcort of general Carnac's ſepoys, which he had requeſted might remain with him, being unable to prevent his flight. It is alſo ſaid, that Beny Bahadur would not have taken this ſtep, being gratified by the confidence of the Engliſh general and a promiſe of continuance in the management of Oude, but for the following circumſtance. Being very ſuperſtitious, he enquired of a propheſying fakeer, the probable event of the war. The fakeer replied, "The Engliſh were like a hurricane, violent in progreſs, but ſoon gone." The miniſter, interpreting this as a prognoſtic of victory to the vizier, thought it ſafeſt to rejoin him. Shittabroy, who had pledged himſelf for the fidelity of Beny Bahadur, was alarmed for his own ſafety, leſt general Carnac ſhould ſuſpect him of being privy to his treachery; but the Engliſh, having received ſo many proofs of his attachment, were too generous to ſuppoſe him capable of betraying their confidence, and upon his offering to go to Calcutta, and ſubmit his fate to the council, eaſed his mind of all alarm, by aſſurances that they thought him as much deceived as themſelves by the artful miniſter.

Before the laſt mentioned occurrence, the Engliſh had detached two battalions of ſepoys to Lucnow, and a force to beſiege the fortreſs of Chunar. The former under major Stibbert, were ſucceſsful in their operations; but the latter failed in a night attack, and ſuffered ſome loſs. This, and the preparations of Shujah ad Dowlah, cauſed general Carnac to raiſe the ſiege, and march towards Aleabad. The Engliſh were now joined by Nujeef Khan with his followers from Bondelcund;

and he, being well acquainted with the fortreſs, pointed out the weakeſt part, which was ſoon breached by the cannon; when the garriſon, not chuſing to brave a ſtorm, ſurrendered, and the Engliſh marched on to Korah in purſuit of the vizier. The conquered diſtricts were ſettled by Raja Shittabroy, who made ſtipulations with the zemindars, and levied native troops in the name of the Engliſh.

When Raow Mulhar had joined Shujah ad Dowlah, he advanced towards the Engliſh, but his army was much diſpirited, and ſtill labouring under a panic from the defeat at Buxar. The Afghauns delayed joining him under various pretences, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who did come, had only a few followers, incapable of ſervice. An engagement, or rather a ſkirmiſh, took place in the neighbourhood of Korah, in which the Mharattas were quickly diſperſed by the Engliſh artillery, and fled acroſs the Jumna to their own territories. The vizier retreated to Ferokhabad, irreſolute how to act, when Ahmud Khan adviſed him rather to throw himſelf on the clemency of the Engliſh, than waſte the remainder of his property on troops, that would always deſert him in the face of danger; obſerving, that from the character of the Engliſh for wiſdom and juſtice, it was certain they would pay proper reſpect to his rank and dignity. After this ſecond victory, the garriſon of Chunar, deſpairing of relief, delivered up the fortreſs to the Engliſh Aumil without a ſiege, of their own accord.

The vizier, having conſidered the advice of Ahmud Khan, reſolved to embrace it; and, accordingly, ſet out in a palanquin with a few attendants to the Engliſh camp. Major Carnac being informed of his approach, advanced with ſeveral officers and Raja Shittabroy to meet him. Upon his appearing in ſight, the vizier alighted from his palanquin, and at meeting he and the major embraced. The major and the company then preſented nuzzers, and accompanied their noble gueſt on foot to their tents, where a collation was provided, and every aſſurance given him of reconciliation and future friendſhip. The vizier, after taking refreſhments, retired to ſleep, and in the evening returned to his own tents, at ſome miles diſtance from the Engliſh camp. Being now ſatisfied of the ſincerity of major Carnac, he ſent for his followers and equipage. Frequent viſits ſucceeded between them, and a treaty was ſpeedily concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties. The Engliſh reſtored the province of Oude to the vizier, on condition of his paying [*] fifty lacs of rupees for the expenſes of the war, half in ready money, and half by a draft on the revenues; the vizier to have credit for what had been collected in Oude by the Engliſh. The province of Aleabad was ſettled on the emperor, who was to reſide in the capital, and have a detachment of Engliſh for his protection. Nujeef Khan had a ſalary of one lac of rupees ſettled on him from the royal tribute of Bengal. Bulwund Sing, collector of Banaras, who had deſerted Shujah ad Dowlah, was reinſtated in his favour and government at the requeſt of the Engliſh. The vizier, upon the concluſion of the treaty, endeavoured to raiſe the ſum immediately due to the Engliſh. He applied to his mother, begum, neareſt relations, and dependants, to aſſiſt him; but they all, except his begum, though well able to afford him the demands made upon them, pleaded inability, offering, ſome half, and others a third. The begum generouſly ſent him all her money, jewels, and plate, even to the noſe-ring, and whatever caſh and ornaments ſhe could collect among her attendants, ſaying, that the ſafety of Shujah ad Dowlah was her choiceſt treaſure. Though a woman, ſhe acted like a man in conſtancy and fidelity, juſtifying this verſe of the poet, “ A virtuous and obedient wife makes a king of her

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[*] Five hundred thouſand pounds.

“ huſband, though poor.” Shujah ad Dowlah, in return for this generous behaviour, always entruſted to her the ſavings of his revenues. Having paid all the money he could raiſe, he gave jewels in pledge for the remainder; and affairs being ſettled with his new allies, took leave, and returned to Fyezabad, leaving deputies in his offices of vizier and [a] meer atuſhee with the emperor. The fort of Chunar was given up to him by the Engliſh, in exchange for that of Aleabad.

A.D. 1765. When providence had cloſed the pages of the life of Meer Jaffier, Mr. Vanſittart having returned to Europe on hearing of the appointment of lord Clive to ſucceed him, the council placed upon the muſnud of the provinces Meer Phulwaree, eldeſt ſon of Meer Jaffier by Munny Begum. The young navob aſſumed the title of Nudjum ad Dowlah. Nundcomar continued miniſter and dewan of Bengal, and Meer Cauzim Khan, brother to Meer Jaffier, nazim of Bahar, as his nephew's deputy. Deerauje Narain remained dewan under him; but, upon the arrival of lord Clive, Nundcomar, though he had been his [b] moonſhee when in Hindooſtan formerly, was diſplaced, and Mahummud Reza Khan appointed in his room; his lordſhip being convinced from a repreſentation which the late governor had left for his examination in the hands of his brother Mr. George Vanſittart, that Nundcomar was unworthy of ſo confidential an office. Lord Clive alſo demanded from a deputation of the council, the preſents they had received from the navob; but they refuſed, obſerving, that when his lordſhip ſhould pay to the company what ſums he had received from the father, they would willingly reſtore what had been given them by the ſon. Theſe gentlemen at the ſame time reſigned the company's ſervice; ſo that the governor could not enforce obedience to his commands.

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[a] Commander of artillery.

[b] Perſian ſecretary.

Soon after his arrival, lord Clive repaired to Aleabad to obtain the direction of the revenues of the provinces for the company, and the ſunnuds were granted without delay; the emperor and vizier being ſubjected as much by the wiſdom, as by the valour, of the Engliſh. An agreement to pay annually [a] ſix and twenty lacs of rupees, as the royal revenues for the three provinces, was given under the ſeal of the company to the emperor. This important buſineſs was ſettled without heſitation or argument, as eaſily as the purchaſe of an aſs or any other animal, without envoys either to the king of England or the company. Lord Clive returned to Calcutta, leaving general Smith to attend the emperor, but who was in fact his ruler; for the general reſided in the fortreſs, and his majeſty in the town; and the ſound of the imperial [b] nobut in the fort being diſagreeable to general Smith, he forbad the band to play, nor did the ſervants of the emperor refuſe.

Lord Clive, upon his return towards Calcutta, ſtopped at Patna to regulate the government of Bahar, which was conferred on Deerauje Narain, in the room of Meer Cauzim Khan, who retired to Raujemahal on a penſion of one lac of rupees. As the [c] jaghires and [d] altumgahs had been free ſince Mahabut Jung's acceſſion, the Engliſh with great generoſity did not aboliſh them, but left to every perſon what he held; and for this, gratitude is due to God and them, for otherwiſe, the noble families of theſe provinces could not have ſubſiſted. The Engliſh deſired, that every perſon's jaghire or allowance ſhould be in perpetuity to his family; thus ſecuring it from the probable changes, in a ſucceſſion of emperors, or intereſted officers of government. Praiſed be God! this rule has continued to this day, and by his mercy is likely to remain in force, from which numbers, who are content with competence, enjoy eaſe and ſecurity.

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[a] Four hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

[b] The nobut is compoſed of large and ſmall drums, ſhrill trumpets, and ſeveral ſorts of wind inſtruments, horridly grating to a European ear; but, it is very poſſible, the general might not have known the indignity he was offering to majeſty in forbidding them to play, the Engliſh being then but little acquainted with the cuſtoms of Hindooſtan. A nobut was kept in every royal fortreſs, to play at ſtated hours of the day.

[c] Lands, or penſions on the revenue.

[d] Lands granted in perpetuity.

Lord Clive the following year advanced to Chopprah, to meet Shujah ad Dowlah, Munneer ad Dowlah, the emperor's miniſter, and Raja Bulwund Sing; when ſome additions to former treaties were concluded between them, the latter being ſecured in the government of Banaras on the payment of a revenue of *twenty two lacs of rupees, the vizier giving ſecurity to the Engliſh not to injure or remove him. Nudjum ad Dowlah dying of the ſmall pox, was ſucceeded by his brother Syef ad Dowlah as navob of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. Deerauje Narain, the governor of Bahar, being convicted of miſmanagement and peculation of the revenues, was diſplaced, and ſucceeded by Raja Shittabroy in conjunction with Mr. Rumbold. Mr. Sykes was appointed to act in the affairs of government at Moorſhudabad with the deputy navob Mahummud Reza Khan. Lord Clive having ſettled the provinces to his ſatisfaction, returned to Europe, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Vereliſt; and general Carnac accompanying his lordſhip, general Smith became commander in chief of the Engliſh army.

The adminiſtration of the provinces was now ſettled in the manner following: Mahummud Reża Khan, the Naib navob, conducted affairs at the capital, Shittabroy at Patna, and Jeſſaurut Khan at Dacca, in conjunction with a member of council

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* Two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

cil at each city, as chief, on the part of the Engliſh. Two days weekly the naib communicated to his Engliſh colleague his tranſactions, plans, diſburſements, and receipts in every department, for his ſatisfaction, and the information and approval of the preſidency. Two days in each week were alſo ſet apart, in which the naib and chief received appeals from the courts of juſtice, and confirmed or reverſed their deciſions by the aſſiſtance of the chief magiſtrates. By theſe means, government was properly conducted, and the Engliſh became informed of the laws, revenues, and cuſtoms of the country, agreeably to their uſage recording in books every caſe, and the information received upon it from the native officers, for their guidance.

A. D. 1769. Mr. Rumbold returning to Europe, Mr. Alexander ſucceeded him as chief at Patna, and Mr. Becher was appointed reſident at Moorſhudabad, in the room of Mr. Sykes, who retired to England.

In the latter end of this year a famine and epidemical diſorder began to rage with great violence. Of the latter died the navob Syef ad Dowlah, and ſeveral perſons of rank ſoon after. Theſe united calamities continued for upwards of three months, carrying off more perſons than can be computed. Mubaric ad Dowlah, third ſon of Meer Jaffier, ſucceeded his brother on the muſnud of the provinces, and [*] four and twenty lacs of rupees annually were ſettled for the expenſes of his houſehold, of which Ali Ibrahim Khan was appointed dewan under Muzzuffir Jung. The Engliſh chiefs lived on terms of friendſhip and intimacy with thoſe of this country, anxious to obtain information of our laws and cuſtoms, for the benefit of themſelves and their ſucceſſors; and every native officer, fearful of being outdone in communication, was eager to gratify their curioſity; but they repreſented for their own intereſt, the abuſes of our laws by oppreſſive rulers, as eſtabliſhed cuſtoms conformable to the genius of the people.

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[*] Two hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

I myſelf was preſent at a court, when a fine was laid both upon plaintiff and defendant by Raja Moorlydher. Mr. Rumbold, in whoſe preſence this happened, and who was of a liberal mind, deſirous of doing juſtice, being aſtoniſhed at the decree, obſerved, that laying a fine on the perſon caſt, might be a puniſhment uſual in the country, but he could not ſee the juſtice of exacting it from the ſucceſsful party. The raja and other officers replied, it was an offering of gratitude, and an ancient eſtabliſhed uſage of the empire. Mr. Rumbold expreſſed ſurprize and diſguſt. The acquiſition of wealth, however, is ſo alluring to mankind, that it is not ſurprizing if ſuch inſinuating arguments ſhould work ſome effect on the Engliſh, whoſe profeſſed object here is to raiſe a fortune; but none of their chiefs have as yet been guilty of any evil or diſreputable action, though from their different form of government in politics, adminiſtration of juſtice, and the incapacity of their native ſervants, ſome people have ſuffered. If they would perſonally inveſtigate the complaints of individuals, and their characters, the injured would be relieved from vexation. At length, the Engliſh becoming informed of ſeveral abuſes of their Hindooſtan deputies, began to interfere, and regulate affairs according to their own opinions.

Mr. Vereſt returning to England, Mr. Cartier ſucceeded him in the government. Obſerving a deficiency of the revenues, and anxious to acquire information of the particular modes of collection and uſages of the country, he divided the provinces into ſeven diſtricts, at each of which an Engliſh council was appointed, to inſpect and controul the zemindars and farmers. A. D. 17

Mr. Vanſittart, who was of great wiſdom and forbearance, having cleared himſelf of the accuſations of his enemies in Europe to the ſatisfaction of the company, was requeſted to return to this country for the regulation of their affairs; but, by the decree of providence, the veſſel on which he embarked was loſt, without leaving a trace of her melancholy fate. Upon this, the company conſulted on appointing a ſucceſſor, and agreed, that after Mr. Vanſittart, no one was equal to the A. D. 1772. office, but Mr. Haſtings, at that time a member of the council at Madraſs; who was accordingly ordered to aſſume the government of Bengal, and Mr. Cartier, three months after his arrival at Calcutta, reſigned it to him. Mahummud Reza Khan and Maharaja Shittabroy were ordered priſoners to Calcutta. I have heard, that no orders from Europe had arrived to confine the latter, but that Mr. John Graham, by his repreſentations, occaſioned him to ſhare the diſgrace of the former, whom he wiſhed to defend. Upon Mahummud Reza Khan's departure, Munny Begum became the directreſs of the navob's houſehold, and appointed her chief eunuch, Eatibar Ali Khan, deputy dewan, by whoſe hands, numbers were oppreſſed. Munny Begum, though not of a noble family, poſſeſſes a ſound underſtanding and much reſolution, and, had ſhe a deputy of equal abilities, is fully capable of conducting affairs. Though offended at Mahummud Reza Khan, ſhe generouſly tried every means in her power to relieve him from his diſgrace. Her behaviour was manly in another inſtance; ſhe would not join in the party of general Clavering againſt Mr. Haſtings, though ſubject, by her reſidence, to much trouble.

Mr. Haſtings, ſoon after his acceſſion to the government, repaired to Moorſhudabad, to regulate the affairs of the nizamut; when the allowance of the navob's houſehold was reduced from twenty four to ſixteen lacs of rupees. Mubaric ad Dowlah being a minor, Munny Begum was appointed to manage his expenſes. The abovementioned allowance is not for the ſupport of the navob only, but for the families and dependants of former Nazims. As his deputy, continually changing, diſburſes the whole, the latter are frequently oppreſſed by delays of payment, and deductions under various pretences; ſo that many ſuffer ſuch miſery, as heaven avert from any of his creatures. The navob and his immediate ſervants attend not to their complaints, though, if this ſum was properly divided, numbers might enjoy repoſe under the ſhadow of their liberality; but alas! they waſte lacs in prodigality and idle expenſe, heedleſs of the ſufferings of others.

Upon the governor's return to Calcutta, the committee commenced an enquiry into the conduct of Mahummud Reza Khan and Maharaja Shittabroy. As the latter had his accounts adjuſted, and his conduct was free from blemiſh, he was fully acquitted of all guilt, after an inveſtigation of a year and ſome months; when the governor and all the committee, having made many apologies, and ſhewn him much kindneſs, reſtored him to office, and gave him the following certificate;

"The ſuſpicions, which for various reaſons we had entertained of the integrity of Maharaja Shittabroy, after the moſt minute and cloſe enquiry, have been found ill-founded and groundleſs, and we have proved his conduct to be in every point honourable and loyal to government."

The raja was alſo diſtinguiſhed by a * khelaut on his leaving the preſidency; but his acquittal could not reſtore his health, which had been much injured by grief and the unwholeſome air of Calcutta. He was met at Bhaugulpore by all the principal inhabitants

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* Honorary dreſs.

inhabitants of Patna; by ſome, from real regard, and by others, from the influence of his authority. When he reached his home, he complained heavily to his friends of the conduct of the Engliſh, and with juſtice, for a more able ſervant than Shittabroy was never employed by them or any other ſtate; a proper reſpect to his great qualities was incumbent on his patrons. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Haſtings, who was on his way to meet Shujah ad Dowlah at Banaras, ſtopping at Patna, requeſted the raja to accompany him; but he was too ill to undertake the journey, and his diſorder ending in a violent dyſentery, he died ſhortly after the governor's departure. Though his opinions and thoſe of his ſon were more inclined to the Mahummedan than the Hindoo religion, yet to ſatisfy the ſcruples of his relations and caſt, his corpſe was burned, according to their cuſtoms. Mr. Haſtings, to convince the world that he had no hatred to the father, appointed his ſon Raja Callean Sing to his office in the province, though very young, and of a weak capacity, with the ſame jaghire and ſalary. He alſo ſettled an additional penſion on the widow, mother to the young raja.

Shittabroy was by caſt a Koyt, and a native of Dhely; in his youth a ſervant of Akka Solymaun, the favourite dependant of Sumſam ad Dowlah, ſon of Khan Dowraun, ameer al amra to the emperor Mahummud Shaw. Upon the death of Sumſam ad Dowlah, he obtained the office of imperial dewan at Patna, and the direction of the lands of his late maſter, for his ſucceſſor, in the province of Bahar. Attaching himſelf to the Engliſh in the ſeveral revolutions, he became their chief adviſer in their connections with the country powers. He was an able ſtateſman, and underſtood completely the direction of finance. He poſſeſſed many good qualities, and, in my humble opinion, excelled all his contemporary chiefs in Hindooſtan. Though properly a civilian, he was not deſtitute of the military virtues of valour and conduct. Though, from his influence with the Engliſh, he was at times the patron of the emperor, vizier, and the chief nobles of Hindooſtan, he was not haughty, or vain of his power, but treated all ranks with affable reſpect to their birth and character, liſtening patiently to the requeſts of every perſon. If reaſonable, and within the compaſs of his power to grant, he complied without heſitation; or, if otherwiſe, refuſed in ſuch a manner, as to gain the eſteem of the petitioner. He underſtood well the duties of private life; and was ſo good an œconomiſt as to appear in ſplendour without exceeding his income. His preſents to his gueſts of high rank were becoming their dignity; and, upon ſeaſons of feſtivity in his family, the public ſhared the bounties of his table. His modeſty and temperance were remarkable, and alſo his forgiveneſs of affronts, when in his power to revenge them, often protecting thoſe in diſtreſs, who had tried to prejudice the Engliſh chiefs againſt him. His bounty to his old acquaintance in his lower fortune, at Dhely, was diſtinguiſhed, and his reſpect and liberality to perſons of learned or ſacred character among the Mahummedans, more extenſive than thoſe of their own nobility. The following is an inſtance of his humility, and freedom from pride.

A Hindoo of his acquaintance, and confidential dependant of Naggir Mul, dewan to a former emperor, coming on a pilgrimage to Gyah, a celebrated place of devotion in the province of Bahar, requeſted a letter recommending him to Shittabroy from his maſter; but the dewan declined giving it, ſaying, that he could not bear to addreſs him by his preſent high titles; and, ſhould he omit them, it might give offence. Theſe words coming to the ears of Shittabroy, when the perſon arrived at

Patna, he treated him with the greateſt attention, and at his departure committed to his charge a letter for Naggir Mul, with a preſent of rich goods and other things amounting to ten thouſand rupees; humbly requeſting, that he would now and then remember his abſent ſervant with a line, when any of his dependants ſhould viſit Patna. Naggir Mul was covered with confuſion and regret at his omiſſion. He immediately wrote a letter of apology to the raja for his behaviour; and praiſing him among his friends, ſaid, "Shittabroy has overcome me by his "wiſdom and politeneſs."

During [a] the great famine, Shittabroy ſent for large quantities of grain from Banaras, which he ſold out at prime coſt; and he had a fleet of boats conſtantly employed between Banaras and Patna to bring ſupplies. Every day, during the ſcarcity, he diſtributed victuals and money to many thouſand poor at four appointed places in the city, as did alſo the Engliſh and Dutch chiefs, ſo that a great multitude was ſaved from periſhing, by their bounty. The ſame precautions were not uſed at Moorſhudabad, and the ſcarcity was made matter of accuſation againſt Mahummud Reza Khan; but God only knows the hearts of his creatures. Shittabroy introduced into his province the cultivation of many fruits from Cabul and the more northern diſtricts, with ſuch ſucceſs, that grapes and oranges are now cheap and common in the markets of Patna.

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[a] It was for ſuppoſed monopoly and extortion, that Shittabroy was ordered by the directors of the company in England to undergo a trial in Calcutta; and as it was rumoured that their ſervants in India were partners with him and Mahummud Reza Khan in the oppreſſion of the people, Mr. Haſtings and the council were obliged, in contradiction to their better knowledge of circumſtances, to order them to the preſidency, where they were tried, and juſtly acquitted with honour.

He had but two blemiſhes in his character: One, his burdening the farmer deficient in payment with more [a] mohuſſuls than were neceſſary, for his own advantage; and the other, obtaining ſums frequently from the jaghiredars, by pretending that the Engliſh chiefs intended [b] inſpecting their titles, but that he could prevent it by a preſent. For theſe exactions, he himſelf in the end ſuffered the oppreſſion of [c] mohuſſuls from thoſe, for whoſe advantage he had impoſed them on his countrymen; and, through grief for his diſgrace, retired to another world. His condition there God only knows; but the prophet of God has declared, that his mercy and forbearance exceed the crimes of man.

Mahummud Reza Khan, upon the enquiry into his conduct, was deſerted by all his dependants, except Ali Ibrahim Khan; who, though newly entered into office, and unconcerned in the tranſactions of former years, yet, grateful to his patron, under-

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[a] Bailiffs, who receive a daily allowance from the debtor, while they attend him for the liquidation of his debt. Their numbers are more or leſs, according to the rank and power of the debtor. Many of the zemindars and renters who hold large diſtricts, keep up an armed force, and when they are deficient in their rents, it is neceſſary to have many perſons ſtationed over them to prevent their eſcape or rebellion.

[b] Many of the jaghiredars, or poſſeſſors of lands and penſions on the revenues, certainly hold them on forged grants, or grants given to unworthy perſons. This is well known to the native officers, who, it is to be feared, make a perquiſite by keeping ſuch perſons in alarm of an inſpection of their titles. The Engliſh, when they obtained the collection of the revenues, left all penſioners in poſſeſſion of their lands and ſalaries; and there is no doubt but this indulgence was much abuſed; but to attempt to rectify the abuſe now would be tyranny, ſo much time having elapſed, that it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the forged grants from the true, the beſtowers and the obliged being all dead, records loſt in the revolutions of government, and the preſent poſſeſſors, at leaſt innocent of fraud. A.D. 1774.

[c] Alluding to his being under a guard during his trial.

took his defence and in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the various accounts, and cleared up his conduct to the ſatisfaction of the council. He was ſet at liberty, and the guards removed from his houſes at Moorſhudabad and Calcutta. He would not, however, return to the former, hoping, like Shittabroy, to be again reſtored to office; and therefore continued at the latter city, where the native dependants of adminiſtration flattered him for his money with favourable reports of the diſpoſitions of their maſters towards him. One day he was told a certain counſellor had expreſſed himſelf kindly; another day, that his reappointment was under conſideration; and a third, that orders for it were diſpatched from Europe. To theſe wretches he made conſiderable preſents in hand, and promiſes of indulgence, when he ſhould regain his power. By ſuch imprudence and folly he incurred large debts.

At this criſis of his affairs, general Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis arrived from Europe, as members of government, and alſo to inveſtigate the conduct of the late adminiſtration, of whom only Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Barwell were continued in office. As theſe three gentlemen were ſent by the king and company to explore the faults of the governor and his colleagues, general Clavering being of high rank in Europe, a ſervant of the king, and intended to ſucceed to the chair, Mr. Monſon to the command of the army, and Mr. Francis to riſe in council, they created a wonderful awe and reſpect. They would not receive nuzzars, a cuſtom peculiar to Hindoſtan, nor even accept a preſent of fruit from any one. They invited the enemies of the governor to join them, and Nundcomar, who had been rejected by Mr. Vanſittart and lord Clive, alſo Mr. Haſtings, at this time became their confidant and moſt favoured dependant. Through him many ſelf-intereſted and ſeditious perſons, in hopes of acquiring power, joined themſelves to the general and his friends. The inveſtigation of the governor's private tranſactions began, and the ſtrongeſt difference of opinion in council prevailed; which not only affected the dependants of either party, but the affairs of the three provinces were thrown into confuſion by the diviſions of government. The general and Mr. Barwell even fought with piſtols, according to the cuſtoms of their nation. The general having a majority over the governor and Mr. Barwell, affairs were conducted moſtly agreeable to the opinion of his party. Mr. Goring was ſent to Moorſhudabad, Mr. Fowke to Banaras, and Mr. Briſtow to Lucnow. Mubaric ad Dowlah and his mother, who were governed by Munny Begum, having applied to the general through Mr. Goring, they became the managers of the nizamut, and were apparently freed from her controul, but, as the Begum poſſeſſed great fortitude and wealth, ſhe threatened the navob to make the Engliſh her heirs in caſe he ſhould offend her; ſo that in effect ſhe preſerved her power. In fact, Mubaric ad Dowlah is incapable of publick buſineſs. No perſon dreads his anger, nor hopes advantage from his patronage; nor is he at all ambitious of power, only requiring the undiſturbed enjoyment of his penſion and pleaſures.

During theſe diſputes, were brought to light the crimes of Nundcomar. He was convicted of a forgery of the name of Bollakee Duſs, and condemned to ſuffer death. He was a wicked, deceitful, vain-glorious perſon, inimical to all mankind, even to thoſe who had conferred obligations upon him, and if any one trivially offended him, never reſted till he had effected his ruin. As his friends had aſſured him that no one could do him injury, and told him not to be alarmed though he might be led to the foot of the gallows; ſo that he might ſecurely uſe every means to prove the governor's delinquency, he, from his hatred, and confidence in the

general's

* Navob's affairs.

general's promiſes, continued to accuſe him; but Mr. Haſtings refuted all his allegations. The guilt of Nundcomar being fully proved, he was hanged at the appointed place of execution. His treaſure and effects were given up to his ſon. It is ſaid, there were fifty two [*] lacks of rupees in money, and about the ſame amount in jewels and rich goods. In his houſe were found the ſeals of ſeveral eminent perſons, which he had forged; ſo that his wicked arts became publickly known.

When it was univerſally believed that the general's party was the ſtrongeſt, Mahummud Reza Khan, who was raſh and unſteady, became deſirous of acquiring his patronage. Ali Ibrahim Khan adviſed him to remain attached to the governor, who had protected his life, fortune, and reputation; obſerving, that if Mr. Haſtings ſhould prevail, he would no doubt reward his fidelity, and even if the general ſhould ſucceed, as he had done him no injury, he could not but reſpect his fortitude and honour. Mahummud Reza Khan, anxious to be reſtored to office, neglected this advice, and courted the general, who gave him the deputation of Mubaric ad Dowlah, and the ſuperintendance of the native criminal courts of juſtice. Khelauts were conferred upon himſelf, his ſons, and dependants, when he returned to Moorſhudabad, and ſhortly after quarrelled with Ali Ibrahim Khan, whoſe abilities and fidelity had reſcued him from deſtruction.

The diſputes in council continued unremitting for three years. In the latter year, the general received intelligence from Europe, that Mr. Haſtings was recalled; when, without waiting for the diſcloſure of the pacquets, he aſſumed the government, but was oppoſed by Mr. Haſtings; upon which the claims of both parties were referred to the opinions of the judges,

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[*] Five hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling.

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judges, who decided in favour of Mr. Haſtings. The general ſoon after was taken ill, and died of a dyſentery, ſuppoſed to have proceeded from grief and diſappointment. After his death, many of his dependants were removed from office, and ſucceeded by thoſe of the governor. Mahummud Reza was ſucceeded by Suddur al Huk Khan, and Raja Goordaſs, ſon of Nundcomar was appointed dewan to Mubaric ad Dowlah; but the former dying ſoon after his promotion, the office for ſome time remained vacant, till at length, the governor general and Mr. Francis coaleſcing, Mahummud Reza Khan was at the deſire of the latter reſtored to his employments.

A. D. 1780.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

FINIS.

☞ Of the Rohilla war in 1774, a juſt account has already been publiſhed by the late captain Charles Hamilton, the truly learned editor of the Hedaya, a code of Mahummedan Laws. It has therefore here been but curſorily mentioned. Of the invaſion of Hyder Alee, I have not ſeen any reſpectable account by a native of India, nor of the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, zemindar of Banaras, or the tranſactions of the Britiſh, later than the period at which I have concluded this volume; and as my deſign was to give only the reports of native writers on the affairs of Hindooſtan, I judged it right to ſtop my pen, when they could not be procured.